

The Month in Review

WE CONSIDER it unnecessary that all Socialist States inevitably have absolutely identical views on all questions—this is impossible even within one Party.” This plea for tolerated diversity within the Communist bloc was recently voiced by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The pronouncement was important in that it could be interpreted as an endorsement of the now neglected theory of the “many roads to Socialism” and hence of the apostasy of “National Communism.” The statement gained added importance as it became increasingly evident that it was part of a well-planned, carefully-timed attempt by the Chinese to challenge Moscow’s claim to be the sole authoritative interpreter of “Marxism-Leninism.” At the very time when the Soviet leaders were waging a ruthless campaign against “revisionism,” the Chinese chose to revise “Marxist” theory more radically than was ever attempted by some of the most outspokenly “liberal” Communists in Poland, Hungary, or even Yugoslavia. In fact, by suggesting that there were contradictions within Communist societies (apparent in conflicts between the ruling bureaucracy and the rest of the people) and that, in order to eliminate these contradictions a liberalized climate in which “all flowers blossom” must be created, the Chinese have actually supplied the theoretical justification of the East European ferment the Soviets are now trying to suppress.



In Poland, the only country where the “liberals” in Communist-bloc Parties can still express their opinions with relative frankness, the new Chinese formulation was immediately grasped by the anti-Stalinist faction to bolster its position. The main beneficiary of the Chinese campaign, however, seems to be Gomulka and the Party group loyal to him, a centrist faction opposing the Stalinists on the one hand and restraining the intellectuals on the other. The Polish leaders were quick to stress that Premier Cyrankiewicz’ trip to Asia had been very rewarding and that conversations with the Chinese had shown their endorsement of present Polish policies, an endorsement predicated on affinity between the two Parties. It seems that the Gomulka group has interpreted the Chinese stand on Poland to mean that national divergencies are acceptable so long as the Party maintains absolute control and prevents the public airing of disputes within its ranks. According to the first, unofficial reports of the long-delayed, crucial ninth plenary session of the Polish Central Committee, the first such session since Gomulka assumed power, this is the policy the Party Secretary successfully laid down: he ordered Party intellectuals to fall into line or to get out of the Party, and advocated Party control of the entire State machinery; he also lashed out at the Stalinist group for sabotaging his program and, resisting Moscow’s pressure for conformity, he announced that the main aspects of that program would not be changed.

Gomulka has relatively little time to put the Party’s house in order and show concrete results from his policies. By December of this year a Congress of the Party must be held, and by then the Party should be united and under firm control. At the moment, it is nothing of the sort. Gomulka still seems to enjoy general popularity in the country as a champion of Polish sovereignty; he undoubtedly has earned the gratitude of peasants he allowed to leave the hated collectives; he may still enjoy the backing of some sections of the industrial force; and his concessions to the Church have stood him in good stead. But within the Party he is hated and feared by the Stalinist-led bureaucracy, which is still in control in some provincial Party machines, and he can no longer count on the selfless backing of the intellectuals he is now curbing. Except for a handful of close associates—two of them, Kliszko and

Morawski, were elected Secretaries of the Central Committee at the plenary session—he seems to stand alone in the direction of his Party.

In recent weeks, difficulties confronting Gomulka have grown more acute. Despite the announced increase in production in the first quarter of the year, ordinary consumer goods are still unavailable from time to time in some localities and the people appear to be growing more restive. The regime has lately had to restrain or discipline almost all sections: the newly-licensed merchants for alleged speculation, the workers' councils for not restricting themselves to economic tasks, the Party's new youth organization for refusing to accept direction, the intellectuals for engaging in impermissible polemics, the farmers for not delivering their compulsory produce quotas. Difficulties also have arisen in relations with non-Communist Parties, and it is presumably intolerable to the Party leadership that the independent Rural Youth Union has attracted more youngsters to its ranks than the Party's own youth organization has. At the moment, therefore, Gomulka is engaged in a concerted drive to introduce so-called discipline in the country without, however, resorting to the repressive police measures of the previous era.

No such compunction inhibits the Kadar regime in Hungary. While, superficially, events in that country bear some resemblance to developments in Poland, the methods and aims are quite different. Youth organizations, writers, and workers' councils, for instance, also came under attack, but this onslaught was clearly defined as a campaign to remove (with savage terror) all vestiges of power not directly under Party control. Regime leaders recently have travelled up and down the country reiterating the well-known platitudes about the causes and course of the "counterrevolution." Their far-fetched explanations assumed a grisly reality in the executions of many and the numerous arrests of others.

Still flouting popular sentiment, Kadar announced at a recent session of the National Assembly that parliamentary elections would not take place as scheduled and that, instead, the people should concentrate on putting the country's economy back on its feet. At present, production is about 80 percent of the pre-Revolt level, but much of the economic recovery is the direct result of foreign aid and the depletion of reserves. From now on, Hungary will have to depend increasingly on its own resources and energies, and the danger signals are already apparent. Prices of some foodstuffs have had to be raised and inflation threatens. The Party's isolation was highlighted in Kadar's statement at the Assembly session that no coalition with non-Communist parties was now possible. The new government approved by the Assembly includes only Party stalwarts of the Kadar clique, with the exception of one former Social Democrat, prominent in his own reconstituted party during the uprising.

In both Czechoslovakia and Romania, the now perennial problem of dissident Communist intellectuals still has not been settled to the regimes' satisfaction. At the recent Congress of the Slovak Party, writers were attacked for not adhering to the prescribed line and one university professor was expelled from the Party. In Romania, a number of writers and literary or non-Party journals have been reprimanded for the same reason. In Czechoslovakia, the warnings to non-conformists in and out of the Party were projected against a background of spy hunts, trials and well-advertised prison sentences.

This attempt to preserve the "purity" of the Communist movement and re-establish the unity of the bloc was still being dramatized by more journeys of important delegations. Shortly after his return from Asia, Polish Premier Cyrankiewicz left for Prague. Similarly, Romanian First Secretary Gheorghiu-Dej went to East Berlin soon after he had returned from talks in Sofia. At an agricultural conference in Sofia, attended by delegates from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, it was decided to speed up plans for Bulgarian production of fruits and vegetables for export; and in East Berlin high-level talks were conducted by parliamentary delegations from the three more industrialized countries of the area—Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland. At these meetings, the Soviet foreign policy line was endorsed and "revisionism" duly condemned. In the near future, however, Mao Tse-tung of China will visit Eastern Europe and it can be expected that, despite Moscow's campaign to reassert its sole mastery, Chinese Communist influence in the orbit will grow.



Back cover of *Szpilki* (Warsaw), March 17, 1957

As They See Us Now

The lurid image of the West projected by Communist propaganda at the height of "cold war" hostility and the immediate post-Stalinist era was pictured in the August 1955 issue of this magazine. The present article shows how the East European countries' view of the West has been widened and illuminated, or at minimum, softened, as a result of the shift in perspectives and changes in political relations since then.

DURING the Stalin era, anti-Western propaganda constituted not only a major export item of the Soviet bloc but one of the staples of the captive people's daily diet. Through its controlled communication media, the Communist propaganda machine spun out an image of the free world which did not have to touch reality at any point. The economy of the West faced imminent collapse, its people were on the brink of destitution and revolt, the Western nations were predatory, their culture barbarous, their art and morality depraved. The total was a patchwork of early Marxist theses on 19th century capitalism,

outright war propaganda, and traditional xenophobic prejudice. Much of it was based simply on lack of information and on misinterpretation, whereby Western institutions and attitudes were conceived only in terms of those prevailing under Stalinism.

After the Geneva Conference in July 1955, and the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, there were changes in the statements about the West which in some cases constituted a radical about-face. This was most striking in references to Western economies, and applied also to art and culture. The politics of the free world con-

tinued to be attacked in every instance in which they are in opposition to Soviet aims. But in general a more tolerant, objective tone prevailed; and Satellite readers are now rarely bombarded with sweeping generalizations on and condemnations of the non-Communist world.

This change has come about not only by grace of directives from the top to ease, in the new era of "coexistence," the frictions generated by the "cold war." As much as on an official line, the new view of the West is formed out of the observations and reactions of people who, before, had had no first-hand knowledge of the free world. Many of the articles in the Soviet bloc press are direct reports from travellers visiting Western Europe or America.

The liberalization of travel and communication rendered the old propaganda stereotypes ineffectual—the discrepancy between what voyagers had been told and what they actually found was laid bare. Even more jolting were the inevitable comparisons between life abroad and life in the East European travellers' own countries. For ultimately, how they see us is an aspect of how they see themselves. Communism conceived of, and propagated, itself as the moral and material superior of all other systems—the highest, and the only "rational," social order. But this image cracked under the impact of the events of 1956, starting with the exposure of deception and crimes at the Twentieth Congress. Reality was a revelation, particularly to the Polish and Hungarian Communist intellectuals; in the other countries, conspicuously in Czechoslovakia, many of the Communist writers appeared to temper their own experience of reality with suspicion, disbelief, reluctance to relinquish old ideas. In this, the varying degrees of freedom of the press in the Soviet bloc, related to the general political climate in each country, is a key factor.

Perhaps the most vital change in post-Stalinist Soviet bloc propaganda is not in the content of what is said about the West but in the new range and diversity of views. Repetitiveness was the hallmark of the old-style propaganda. The mechanical hammering on a formal set of themes and phrases was artificially enlivened only by the hysterical pitch of the invective. An almost completely uniform picture of the West—uniformly lurid—was projected by the Satellite press. Now there are contradictions and contrasts in the views expressed in the newspapers of the different countries, or by different writers in the same press, and even by the same writer over a period of time. Writers on the subject now modify their views in the light of new information or experience, or, merely second thought. This would have been unthinkable before—or, at least, unexpressable.

Poland

IT IS ABOVE all in Poland, and secondly in pre-revolutionary Hungary, that a basic alteration in perception of the West has taken place. The entire bloc has felt "the shock of recognition," but nowhere has the tremor caused such vibrations as in Poland. Accounts in the Polish press of experiences in the West are charged with feeling: amazement, alarm, and resentment. As in other matters the

articulate Poles are engaged in a campaign for truthfulness—about their own reality, and about the reality of others. Their protest is against the deception and duplicity of the Stalinist years—the myths imposed upon them and all too often accepted by them.

One of the most revealing descriptions of a first encounter with the free world, and its effect on a "man of thought," was an article titled "The Transit," by Maciej Czerwinski, published in *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), August 9, 1956. In it the author recorded the stages—both external and psychological—of a trip to Italy, his first journey out of Poland. For major excerpts from this agonized reappraisal of "capitalist" reality as seen in Italy, see pp. xx.

Capitalist Successes

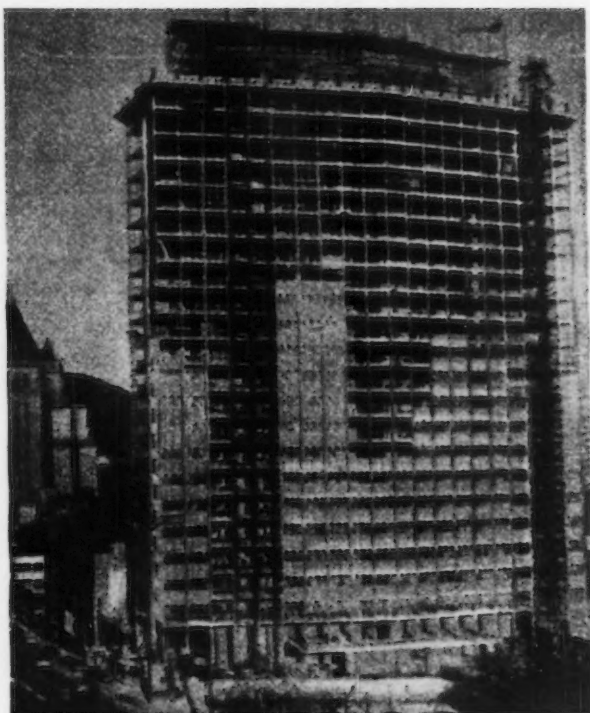
It is the prosperity of the West which has most astonished and impressed the relatively few Poles who have travelled abroad. The result of this realization (mostly on the part of "liberal" Communists) that capitalist prosperity exists on an unprecedented scale has been a probing investigation of the Western economic system, applying empirical rather than doctrinal methods of judgment. Thus, many of the "Marxist" axioms are being challenged by economists, journalists, intellectuals of all fields. The "inexorability" of capitalism's demise is in doubt.

"The first thing which strikes everyone coming to a Western country from Poland is the prosperity of capitalist Europe," wrote *Po Prostu* (Warsaw), September 30, 1956. "How did it happen that, in spite of [Communist] expectations, the capitalist countries have been able to avoid an economic crisis? How is it that the standard of living and the rate at which it grows is higher than in Poland? How is it that the capitalist countries have surpassed us in industrial technological progress and in labor output? I could ask many more such questions and it would be neither a glorification of capitalism nor a slander against Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, it is the duty of a Marxist to ask such questions."

In the past year or so these questions have been asked again and again in the Polish press, and the writers have demanded facts, and an end to Communist fantasy and falsification.

The basis of prosperity in West Europe, including a subject long taboo—the role played by the Marshall Plan—was thus described in the *Po Prostu* article cited above:

"It is . . . of greatest importance that we should reconsider our evaluation of the Marshall Plan. We maintained that it was an economic aggression added to the aggressive political NATO Pact which aimed at continuation of the 'cold war,' and perhaps even a 'hot war.' . . . We used to write that it constituted a colonization of Western Europe which would bring about industrial regression on the one side, and impoverishment of the masses on the other. Such statements are contrary to the truth. This is proved by the economy of the German Federal Republic, which, ruined during the war, has managed to develop the most modernized industry in Europe and at the same time absorb a great army of unemployed and resettlers. It is proved by the economic situation of the whole of Western Europe, where production is 40-50 percent higher than



"Such a system and tempo of construction can truly be envied. In Canada, a 21-story 'little' house rises in the course of a few months. Of course this is only because of their thorough use of pre-fabricated cement [blocks]."

Zycie Warszawy (Warsaw), December 9, 1956

before the war, where unemployment is very low, where modernized industry and [in particular] the building industry are much better developed than ours.

"All this progress stems from the 1948-49 period, when the Marshall Plan was adopted. . . . It was our unpardonable mistake at the time to jump to the conclusion that this operation would strike at the well-being of the masses, and bring about their economic ruin, just because it was initiated by a capitalist State.

". . . It is important to reconsider our thesis about the position of the working classes in the capitalist system, about the pauperization of the working class. . . . I would like to stress the point that even the best organized capitalism cannot solve the contradictions between individual ownership of the means of production and social production; even the highest standard of living will not abolish the differences between social classes, or exploitation and inequalities. But this statement by no means supports the needless, simplified and ignorant opinions we had formed. Because it is a fact that the standard of living of the working classes in the capitalist States has become not lower but higher in the course of the past ten years. The thesis about the absolute pauperization of the workers cannot be defended by statistical tricks. . . . [Moreover] it is a substantial part of the working classes, and not a minority in them, which is well off. A new [trend] in capitalism is the adoption of the theory of Keynes, which we failed prop-

erly to recognize. Another is the influence of the Socialist bloc on the capitalist bloc: [the fact that] the capitalists, because of the spread of the Socialist revolution, had to pay better wages in order to prevent the proletariat from growing radical. This silent competition on their side went on during the whole cold war period and will continue throughout the period of peaceful coexistence. . . .

"Let nobody raise the argument which I used some time ago, that capitalist prosperity is due to the armament program. . . . States which have low armament budgets are also showing rapid progress. . . . The fact that prosperity not only continues, but shows signs of further growth (in spite of widespread crises—for instance, the Suez crisis) in the capitalist countries, calls for some serious study and not merely for a few slogans. . . ."

Discovery of America

THE SUDDEN throwing open of doors and windows has, in Poland, fanned a burning curiosity for details about life and conditions in the free world. And curiosity focusses on the United States, because of its relation to the USSR as the alternate major world power, and because of Poland's special interest in its economic methods and achievements.

Stalinist propaganda, combined with Iron Curtain restrictions on travel and communication, combined to create a highly abstract and distorted picture of life in the United States. Now there is a demand to give the picture not only true proportions but also substance and color. A book based on personal impressions of the United States written by Jerzy Putrament, a member of the Communist Party and one of the first Polish journalists allowed to travel in the West after Stalin's death, was sold out almost immediately after its publication in Warsaw. *Swiat* (Warsaw), November 25, 1956, suggested the basis for its popularity:

"Why was it that Putrament's rather superficial little book . . . enjoyed such a success? I think it was not only because he somewhat surprisingly praised Coca-Cola and certain other aspects of American life. . . . It seems to me that Putrament's popularity stems from the fact that he gave the reader first-hand information about America instead of the standard clichés, that he showed the variety of American life instead of the customary one-sided picture, that he showed, next to the gloomy sides, the positive aspects of that life. The reader, thus receiving a new and spicy dish, felt disposed to overlook any shortcomings. . . ."

By the same token, an anthology of American short stories recently published in Poland was condemned by a critic in *Swiat*, November 25, 1956, for presenting too negatively slanted a description of conditions in America. The anthology, titled "The Record of John Cru," was described as containing work by a large variety of authors who have in common "their criticism of American capitalism and the progressive character of their writings."

"Is this enough to make their short stories interesting to us?" demanded the critic. "Presumably, it is not." He charged that the stories not only lacked artistic merit but

(Continued on page 8)

"The Transit"

By Marcin Czerwinski

Przegląd Kulturalny (Warsaw), August 9, 1956

I **C**CROSSED three frontiers: between Poland and Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia and Austria, and finally between Austria and Italy.

"... For many travellers such episodes are a mere technicality: they mean a lengthy stop at certain stations, a certain amount of formalities, the necessity of switching to a different language in speaking to the officials...

"In my case, this was my maiden voyage, my first journey from People's Poland, and for me these stages were full of meaning. For ten years I had considered such a voyage impossible. Eventually, I even considered it undesirable. I developed a certain viewpoint on the business of 'letting people out of the country,' on travel, on the treatment of us, the newcomers from the East, in that other, hostile world. On the map of the itinerary I was to follow, I looked with dislike at places where the red railway lines crossed the dotted lines of frontiers. These places—I told myself—are the centers of concentrated mutual distrust of peoples, the actual barricades. On either side of those lines they will look at me humiliatingly. They will turn my personal linen upside down, and perhaps they will ask me about the contents of my notes. In the eyes of the Polish authorities, my travel document will mean that for some indistinct reasons I am going to spend one month in the hostile camp. For the 'others,' for an Austrian customs official and for an Italian guard, I shall simply be suspicious.

"We were supposed to arrive at the Czechoslovak frontier in the early morning hours. I was the only passenger of the sleeping car... After going to bed, I tried to memorize the landscape looming in the growing dusk. I realized that I would need it for my future comparisons, that I would take it with me as one of the measures of what I was going to see. What I saw was commonplace. It was only on my way back to Poland that I understood that banality originates within ourselves, through our passive habits. In order to perceive the unique character of the railway station in Koluszki or that of the plains in the Piotrków district, it is necessary to have our eyes washed in the strange landscapes of a foreign country.

"When the sleeping car conductor knocked on my door at daybreak to announce that we were approaching Zebrzydów, I decided to get dressed.

"I had the instinctive feeling of approaching some climax. An acquaintance of mine whom I had met on the station platform right before my departure from Poland

had said to me facetiously: 'Be careful you don't run away after you get to Rome!' It seemed to me that for me, as a man with such a possibility, as a man on whom, in spite of everything, the authorities had bestowed their confidence, it would be improper to be clad in pajamas while taking leave of authority...

"[After going smoothly through customs and passport control] I suddenly wanted very much to see the last fragment of Poland, the last piece of land beyond which one's conduct is governed only by one's consciousness of being a 'Polish citizen' and of carrying with one the confidence of those who 'let him out'; the point where one leaves behind his country's laws and police, to become only a drifter, loose from his base. All I saw were some bushes, then a muddy pool, and finally a clearing and Czechoslovak soldiers. I became conscious of being in Czechoslovakia only after we arrived at Petrovice station; a train of a different appearance was waiting for us there, the people were better dressed than in Poland, and the conductress wore a smaller cap...

"The journey to Vienna lasted a very long time... due only to the surviving influence of the Iron Curtain. Like a limb which has been immobilized for a period of time and is suddenly put into motion, this railway line seems to be still surprised that it should be called upon to render some kind of service. It submits to this necessity rather reluctantly. Long before reaching the Austrian frontier, I had enough time to digest my experience. I started to understand a little of the practice of coexistence, and of the international 'thaw.' I even felt ashamed. I told myself that I was the one who was carrying within himself the specters of the past.

"[After crossing the Czechoslovak-Austrian-Italian borders] I felt very experienced, and ready to cross any number of frontiers... The examination of passengers of the international train was not of a humiliating nature. My travel companion was right in saying that in Europe things have changed for the better in this respect.

"However, there started to grow within me another difficulty; it had an entirely personal character, although it was caused by external and concrete circumstances.

"Already in Czechoslovakia, I had been subconsciously envious of the Czechoslovak people. I envied them not in my own name, but in the name of the Polish people. I was envious of the greater cleanliness of their railway stations and people; of their better clothes. After seeing the other countries, I ceased to feel envious, and instead became alarmed and had a feeling of panic. Of course I don't begrudge anyone his possessions. On the other hand, I had an opportunity to measure the extent of difference between

[what I now saw and] what we have in the way of clothes and all kinds of belongings, the difference in the general cleanliness. My curiosity pushed me towards the windows; at each station I leaned out, the upper part of my body suspended over the platform; I stared eagerly at everybody and everything: station equipment, stands, buildings, dogs, and suitcases.

"In the crowd, which was apparently very mixed—comprised of elegant women and factory workers, playboys and soldiers, exquisite elderly gentlemen and modest office girls—there were no dirty or sweat-soaked clothes. One could see such clothes only on people actually performing some kind of dirtying work. I was sure that, if the same worker I saw there working at rails in dirty work clothes stained with oil, and that other one who was just laying bricks and who was clad in patched trousers, sat beside me in the train, they wouldn't look any different from the rest of my fellow-passengers in the compartment in their well-fitted poplin and gaberdine suits, at whose cleanliness I was so much amazed. Suitcases fastened with string were no longer to be seen. Sticky, beer-spattered counters vanished.

"In an inner dialogue I went over the whole supplementary argument. I told myself that I had come here from a country which first had been terribly poor, then devastated and squeezed dry by the occupier, and which had a most ambitious plan of reconstruction. I told myself that I was going through countries in which the capitalist system had lasted long enough to lay the foundations for a comparatively evenly spread prosperity. I told myself that the Czechoslovaks don't struggle like us in a gigantic effort to jump over whole epochs of economic development, that at a time when Poland was still following the methods of Piast the Wheelwright [legendary founder of the Polish State] the Italian cities were already reigning in the field of commerce and production. I told myself that I was seeing only the surface of things, that two million Italians are unemployed, that underneath there must certainly be conflicts and dramas.

"In the meantime, I was making more discoveries. I discovered a cart equipped with refrigeration. I drank a glass of iced lemonade. I noticed the snow-white shirt of a train conductor. Stains on my own jacket. My neighbor's strange parcel which was not, as I supposed, a briefcase containing papers, but abundant and varied food articles in an extraordinarily hygienic wrapper which one could buy at the station. I noticed things whose appearance or use were unknown to me: the aluminum parts of the railroad car, an aluminum wagon, a plastic bottle, a suitcase made of some unknown material, smooth-surfaced, giving an impression of laboratory cleanliness, colorful, elastic.

"I had to answer for myself the question of why I felt ashamed at all this. I felt a little like an Indian from Voltaire's story, confronted with the wonders of civilization; the only difference was that I could not afford his shrewd criticism. . . . *I discovered the source of my humiliation. It was not Poland's poverty, which may indeed arouse rebellious feelings in one, but my being completely unprepared for this whole confrontation, which caused this panic, this alarm, this irritation within me. In spite of the fact*

that in Poland I had often been in the market where used clothes sent in parcels from the US are sold, and that I had seen the American goods purchased through the Polish Savings Bank in New York, *I had not been able to conceive of what the daily life of the American people is like. In my country, our capitalistic neighbor was condemned to death, to destitution, to crisis. Hadn't I read over and over again about the ever increasing pauperization of the working masses, hadn't I known about every move of the 'dissatisfied peoples' [under capitalism]? I tell you now: abstract criticism is of no value. What if I had guessed that the phrase about 'capitalism rotting' was a simplification, if not falsification, of the true state of affairs? An acquaintance of mine had the practice of stubbornly refuting even the most fantastic tales which others happened to circulate about him. He maintained that if he didn't, a little out of even the most unbelievable gossip would stick to him. To the countries of Western Europe, in our imagination, certain elements of our own rash diagnoses have so stuck.* (Italics added)

"... Our Polish economic effort, seen from outside, does not cease to be worthy of admiration. We have only too many reasons to feel dissatisfied about our actual situation . . . but I don't think we should necessarily take a negative stand toward our new roads of development. *However, there is no justification for the fact that in our country we did not want to recognize what was taking place 'on the other side,' that we were too anxious to bury capitalism which, in its native lands, has gone through the last ten years with evident success while it lost ground in other areas, for instance in Asia. No, I did not come to Italy as Voltaire's Indian. I had to admit to myself: I felt victim to their nursery tales.* (Italics added)

"Let's make a comparison based on Pavlov's theory. Suppose a dog were trained to react to the words 'capitalism' and 'Socialism.' You say: capitalism—the dog's throat goes dry. You say: Socialism—saliva rushes into the dog's mouth. Both these conditioned reflexes are geared to each other, both are learned simultaneously.

"By various devious ways I also was trained to feel dryness in my throat at hearing the four-syllable word 'capitalism.' Dryness of the throat and indisposition to eat. However, all of a sudden I found myself in a situation in which these four syllables reverberated in my head in vain; I vainly tried to add to them such scornful definitions as: poor, most poor, one of the poorest capitalisms in Europe. The befouled Italian capitalism which doesn't know how to cope with unemployment and the poverty of the South.

"In vain. I even felt that I could eat. The dryness in my throat started to be triumphantly overcome by simple, primitive appetite. Disobedient saliva was flooding my mouth, saliva forgetful of signals, of breaks, of conditions. I was ravenous. These elegant suits! Those factory workers driving scooters! This traffic on the roads! Beautiful and numerous cars! These newly-built houses! And they are even plastered! With colored plaster! These clean railway stations! And everybody is so polite! And relaxed! Somehow my conditioned reflex was out of order. Amidst my shame and humiliation."



Under the title of "The Most Hated Girl in America," the following explanation is given: "A great many of the American teen-age dance fans would like to strangle the 21-year-old Dorothy Harmon who managed to conquer the heart of Elvis Presley, the creator of the rock-and-roll frenzy. Students of a girls' school sent the following collective message to Dorothy: 'Elvis is the collective possession of all American girls. Try to marry him and we'll skin you alive.'"

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), February 16, 1957

above all, gave a misleading picture of the United States:

"Within these 37 stories covering 400 pages one invariably meets with pictures of poverty, crisis and unemployment. In fact, they do not depict even one contented man, a man who earns enough money and is satisfied with his situation. That is why the picture emerging from this book seems false to me. . . ."

"In my opinion, this biased representation of the United States . . . is politically harmful. In the first place, it is contrary to the American reality. *There is no reason why our propaganda should have recourse to lies; we have at our disposal a sufficient number of serious and well-founded arguments criticizing the American system and various sides of the 'American way of life.'* . . . Such a one-sided picture of America may be mistaken for an attempt . . . at increasing international tension . . . which,

as is well known, is contrary to our intentions.

"Further, such a distorted picture is in the disagreement with information on the United States possessed by many of our readers. These readers, when confronted with such an accumulation of 'horrors,' lose confidence in our propaganda. The result is that the readers . . . cease to believe that unemployment or poverty exist at all in America. . . ."

The critic concluded that the editors and publishers of this anthology were the victims of "false standards which heretofore were obligatory"; it was suggested that today, in a different atmosphere, they would agree with this criticism of the book and base their choice of American "progressive" stories on broader and fuller criteria.

In the past year the Polish press has published a large number of first-hand accounts of life in the United States. These observers are above all struck with the high standard of living of the masses, which Communist anti-American propaganda had represented as steadily declining. "During the years of the Cold War our press was writing more about unemployment in the US than about the prosperity of that country," said a writer in *Trybuna Wolnosci* (Warsaw), December 16-23, 1956. "More was being said about the poverty of certain classes of people than about the wealth of other, much more numerous groups. . . . This . . . was one of our typical propaganda errors. In the last ten years I have been to America three times, and I have no doubt whatever that the average American (including the worker but perhaps excepting the farmer) is now better off than ever before. . . ."

Typical of this "new line" was an article by Grzegorz Jaszunski, in *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), December 16, 1956. Jaszunski stated:

" . . . I have no doubt whatever that at the present time the United States is going through a period of maximum prosperity, exceeding that of any other period in the history of that rich country. American shops overflow not only with goods, but also with customers. At the end of November, on the day of my departure from the US, I went to Macy's. . . . There were crowds of people, just as in the Warsaw Central Department Store; however, the selection of goods was considerably greater, and the customers are by far more discriminating in their choices. . . ."

The writer reported that apart from articles of everyday use, the Americans buy large quantities of goods regarded in Poland as luxuries: television sets, refrigerators and other kitchen equipment, and automobiles. He described another aspect of national prosperity—the construction projects in evidence everywhere—and mentioned apartment houses, industrial plants and highways springing up at remarkable speed all over the country ("the highways now in use, albeit large and beautiful, are inadequate for the millions of cars in which the Americans rush out of the cities on weekends [especially since], the Saturday day off has become the rule").

Figures were cited to the effect that 99 percent of American houses have electricity, 90 percent have running water, three-fourths of American families have cars; virtually every family has a radio; three-fourths have television; almost every apartment is provided with a refrigerator and a telephone.

"How is this growth of prosperity to be explained? What about the fact that despite the predictions of both Marxist and bourgeois economists, the economic boom has not come to a sudden halt?..." The author went on to enumerate the classic Marxist reservations about such a prosperity: unemployment, unequal distribution of income, indebtedness. But, he concluded, "at the present time... the fact is that nobody in America, neither the bourgeois nor Marxist economists, sees the approach of the economic crisis so many times predicted in past years. There is only the opinion that the American economy may be threatened with a slight and temporary recession. The so-called average citizen does not bother much about the matter. For the time being, he tries to make the most of the period of increased prosperity in the United States."

People's America

THAT CAPITALISM can and does function only on the basis of working class exploitation is now disputed; on the contrary, Western capitalism appears headed in the direction of greater homogenization and "democratization," at least according to Edmund Osmanczyk, a Polish journalist who recently spent several months in the US. Osmanczyk published an article in *Przegląd Kulturalny*, December 20, 1956, in which he analyzed the phenomenon of "People's Capitalism." At first, he said, he had been inclined to jeer at the term, but a conversation with an American sociologist who described the "slow, continuous transformation of America's economic system" caused him to look deeper. It appeared that despite the fact that concentration of capital in the hands of banks and business still exists, "the America of the people is far from helpless in the face of the America of Big Business"; for the profits of large companies are considerably limited by taxation, and the American working masses have succeeded in winning substantial social and financial gains. "Contemporary American economists encounter difficulties in defining the present capitalist system in the US, which differs greatly from the capitalism known to Marx, and even from that known to Lenin," said Osmanczyk.

He warned that "of course it would be premature to look upon this somewhat controversial 'People's Capitalism' as being some 'American road to Socialism'; on the other hand, it would be ignorant not to see those specifically American popular forces which, slowly but steadily, change that country's system. . . ."

In conclusion, Osmanczyk suggested that every nation's system is unique and can scarcely be transplanted; but each system should study and learn from the other (thus denying the doctrine of Communism's inherent superiority and its inevitable and necessary conquest of the world):

"As a matter of fact, these forms are so specifically American that not many of them are suitable for export; by the same token, not many of the democratic forms created in other parts of the world can be imported by America. Nevertheless I believe we should watch carefully, not only the America of Big Business but also the People's America . . . with no less diligence than that with which the Americans observe the Socialist countries and study

not only our errors but also our achievements in their research centers."

Moscow Contradicts Polish Appraisal

RADIO MOSCOW (in English to the U.K.), February 27, 1957, quoted an article from the Soviet press which, it was alleged, "disposes of the theory of so-called People's Capitalism." The article argued that, except for the replacement of free competition with monopoly, capitalism has not changed since the 19th century and the gap between owners and workers remains unbridgeable:

"A theory that is lately being advanced by [Western economists] is that of the so-called People's Capitalism, according to which the dividing line between the workers and the bourgeoisie, as far as property is concerned, is being erased. In Britain this theory is advanced by a special league of economists . . . politicians and big capitalists, who publish literature in an effort to convince people that present-day capitalism has nothing in common with the capitalism of the past century.

"These propagandists do not deny that capitalism in the past was based on exploitation and inequality, but today,



"New York: On Sunday, all the people come out into the squares and gardens to celebrate Spring."

Przekroj (Cracow), February 17, 1957

they claim, capitalism is altogether different. It has undergone a revolution. It has become the People's Capitalism, without capitalists and workers, since both work equally hard, but in different spheres. These advocates often go so far as to call contemporary capitalism, Socialism. This, they maintain, is because people in modern capitalist society do not exploit the labor of others.

"Is there even a particle of truth in these assertions? No. So-called People's Capitalism is merely a propaganda trick intended to mislead the working people. In reality, capitalism has changed in only one respect. In place of the free capitalist competition which was characteristic of the 19th century, there is now the domination of monopolies, as syndicates, trusts, cartels, and companies, which dominate all branches of the capitalist economy. As far as the essence of capitalism is concerned, it has remained absolutely unchanged. It is still the bourgeois class which owns the bulk of the nation's means of production and which exploits the working class. . . .

"In order to live, the overwhelming majority of the people must work, and where and how can they work? The only way . . . is by working at enterprises belonging to capitalists . . . on the terms which those owners lay down.

"Economists claim that People's Capitalism is characterized among other things by the fact that growing numbers of workers are becoming shareholders. We all know that the American and British monopolies are circulating shares of stock among their workers, and that the workers often pay for them by reductions in their wages. But this is in the interests of the monopolies which in this way amass the funds to increase their capital. . . . The exploiters and the exploited continue to be at two opposite poles of capitalist society. Their interests are directly opposed and irreconcilable."

Social and Race Relations

THE ROLE and power of the "common people" in America has also been newly gauged. In orthodox Marxist propaganda, a distinction was always made between the people and their "bosses": the people's intentions were of the best, but their will was powerless against the domination of a privileged class which owned and controlled the means of production. In the article cited above, Osman-czyk asserted that America is genuinely democratic, egalitarian, and in its social structure more like the Soviet Union than like any other nation in the world:

"I have visited the US twice—[once] in the autumn of 1947 and again in 1956—and each time I was struck with the popular character of this great country, expressed in the language, customs, and in many forms of political life. In America, the waiter or salesman greets his customers with a familiar 'Hi, folks,' thus immediately establishing his absolute equality with them. There is, to be sure, a social hierarchy, which is determined by money, but in their mutual relations people try to conceal their social differences by means of the familiarity of language, popular customs and by many popular forms of politics.

"There are only two really proletarian States in the world, with no burden of feudal heritage: the United

States and the Soviet Union. . . . An average American today stands spiritually closer to the average Russian than to an Englishman or Frenchman. If it were not for the differences in the political system (and in my opinion these differences are gradually but constantly diminishing) and for mutual ignorance (the result of propaganda—that scourge of the 20th century), America and the Soviet Union would be the most natural friends in the world.

"Keeping in mind the reactionary forces which do have a great influence in the US, it seems to me worthwhile knowing that the world, in its struggle for peace and progress, has a precious ally in the United States. The population of America is this ally. When after ten years I travelled again through the US I got the impression that this popular force has not diminished but increased. . . ."

In an article titled "Cocktail Party" (*Przekroj* [Cracow], February 17, 1957), Karolina Beylin asserted that, contrary to the old notions, neither the wealthy businessmen nor old-guard society constitute the "aristocracy" in America. It appeared that at least in New York, membership in the "elite" was a matter not of money or birth but of education or talent; typical members are scientists, psychoanalysts, architects, designers, sociologists, theater stars. She subscribed to the theory—popularized by American social critics such as Russell Lynes, whom she cited—that America is divided into groups not according to income but according to styles of life. Beylin described for readers such trappings of "sophistication" as a New York literary cocktail party, the menu of one of the new coffee houses, and Greenwich shop window displays. She commented also on America's irony in regard to itself; she pointed out that although Americans are convinced that what they are and have is the finest in the world, they also like to poke fun at their own foibles.

A commentary in the Polish press on the position of the Negroes in the social and economic fabric of America, based on first-hand observation, called for correction of "our present notions, formulated during the years of the Cold War, about the Negro problem in the United States." Grzegorz Jaszunski, writing in *Swiat*, January 6, 1957, described how



"Left, right! One, two!" (This refers to boom or bust as symbolized by the military boot and the tattered shoe, the alternatives of a war economy or depression.)

Sturshel (Sofia), February 8, 1957



Illustration for an article by Marion Podkowinski entitled "An American is Practical." Above, "beautifully-equipped one-family houses in nicely-situated part of the US"; below, "Skyscrapers in New York City."

Tygodnik Demokratyczny (Warsaw), February 21, 1957

two white men involved in a traffic incident in Chicago had deferred to the authority of a Negro policeman. This picture came to his mind when, upon his return from America, he was asked about the situation of the Negro people in the United States.

To begin with, he said, it should be recognized that for the Negro the US is not one country but two, in which there exist entirely different customs and regulations. He reviewed the Negro's history since slavery, contrasting the relative freedom of North and South. "In Harlem in New New York City, and in other Northern States, one can even find Negroes who are rich." In the South, although the Negro is definitely oppressed, "there are two corrections we should make to the picture previously known to us about Negro life. In the first place, we used to write that the 'racists' persecuted the Negroes while the 'American people' or the 'working class' opposed this, etc. Well, this is simply not so. In the South the majority of white people, not excluding the workers, continue to defend the privileges of their white skin. Thus the fight against racial discrimination is more difficult, since such a marked majority adheres to the policy of discrimination."

Jaszunski declared that it is also incorrect to portray the Negro situation in the South as static. Essential changes

are taking place. He cited the Supreme Court decision on the abolition of segregation in schools, summarizing its substance and reviewing the subsequent events, positive and negative, in its implementation. He also discussed objectively the Supreme Court ruling against segregation on transportation and the Montgomery bus boycott.

The article concluded that there will be delays and obstacles, "but the trend is clear: sooner or later—though it may be later than sooner—equality of rights for the Negro people will be established. American Negroes no longer want to sit in the back seats, and this not only in buses. And various circumstances concerning the internal policy of the United States as well as the foreign policy of this country (appearing as a spokesman for the equality of nations) favor the Negroes' fight."

Political Forces and Motivation

IN A DISPATCH from the US broadcast by Radio Warsaw, October 10, 1956, Edmund Osmanczyk gave his impressions of the pre-election mood in the United States. He said that there was growing apathy among the people toward both internal and international affairs, that a "petty-bourgeois mentality" prevailed and that this political indifference and obscurantism was due to "McCarthyism," which made people afraid to become involved in politics. Although the general desire for peace was strong, it apparently stemmed primarily from isolationist sentiment rather than any idealistic concern for world harmony and progress.

In *Przegląd Kulturalny*, December 20, 1956, the same reporter proclaimed the outcome of the November elections to be "a great demonstration of common sense" and "proof of the great political maturity of the American nation." Osmanczyk's interpretation of this outcome was that the voters (by widespread ticket splitting) intended that the President have great authority so that, independent of the Party which put him forth, he will be able to represent the overall national interests to the fullest possible extent: "On the other hand, let the President, upon whom the nation bestowed such great authority, have a Congress with a majority from the opposition Party, *because it is always better if the President, even the most honest one, does not have absolute authority. . .*" (Italics added)

At the height of the "Cold War" America was portrayed in Soviet bloc propaganda as a Fascistic police State; but now, according to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), December 30, 1956, "one can talk with certainty about symptoms of a 'thaw.' However, it would be difficult to deny that the followers of Senator McCarthy's methods are still important in Washington politics. . . . In the America of today, one can talk freely with foreigners (meaning, of course, the visitors from Eastern Europe, etc.), invite them home, meet them publicly, send letters 'behind the iron curtain' and receive replies without hindrance. . . . Also, the treatment of the American citizens wishing to visit the Soviet Union

(Continued on page 14)

"How the Americans Work"

Polish Communist or pro-Communist intellectuals, in their new official pragmatism, are no longer satisfied with academic explanations of America's wealth. In Trybuna Wolnosci (Warsaw), December 16-23, 1956, Grzegorz Jaszunski analyzed microscopically some of the ways in which the American economic system actually operates. The author's conclusion—that the key to its success lies in superior organization and productivity—openly challenges one of the Communist theorists' pet claims for their own system. Jaszunski wrote:

"In our press can be found more and more reports . . . about the wealth of present-day America. In our explanations, America's great natural resources are usually cited, as well as the fact that the United States never went through feudalism, that it derived profits from both World Wars, that it is highly industrialized, etc. Without deprecating the importance of all these factors I do not think they give the full answer. I want to give a few examples of how the American economy functions in daily life:

"A few days before my departure for New York, I went to the Polish Savings Bank . . . to cash a check. When I handed it to a clerk, she checked the signature, then she gave it to the second girl who took it over to the third one who checked my account and registered the amount of my check; the fourth clerk checked the new balance, and finally, the cashier or fifth clerk paid me out the rather trivial sum. All these operations took 25 minutes. That much time is needed for cashing a check at the Polish Savings Bank.

"Soon after my arrival in New York, I went to one of the American banks also in order to cash a check. I handed it to a young clerk who greeted me politely and did not treat me as his personal enemy. He himself checked the signature on the check, and my account with the bank, and then gave me the cash. I stayed in the bank not longer than two minutes; thus, it took at least twenty minutes less than at the P.K.O. [Polish Savings Bank].

"Let's multiply the number of P.K.O. clients, and of other Polish banks, by 20, and it will appear that an astronomic number of minutes and hours is wasted day by day by our citizens who cash checks or settle other matters with our banks.

"Where does the difference lie? I think that it lies exclusively in the fact that the work in Wall Street is well organized. . . .

"I realize that the political and economic functions of the Polish and the American banks are different, but it seems to me that the process of handling a check can be identical in both countries. If in America this operation takes 20 minutes less than in Poland, and if this is because the work is better organized, this presumably is one of the reasons why the United States is so prosperous.

Speedy Building and Capitalist Planning

"The second example is in a completely different field, although also in this case good work organization is the essential factor. At the beginning of October, I noticed in

the vicinity of the U.N. in New York a large building under construction (as is going on all over New York). The building being constructed at 42nd Street aroused my interest because it was still possible to see its roof scaffolding while the notice displayed on its corner announced that the building would be ready for use in December, 1956, and that the apartments could be rented at such and such an address. Quickly I figured out that the 18-story building would be completed within about two months' time, in spite of the fact that its construction—at least according to my lay notions—was not very far advanced.

"During the following weeks I saw that building rather frequently (because of its location near the U.N.). It is a pity that I did not keep a record on the rate of its construction; however I remember that the average tempo was as follows: every two or three days one story was completed. At this moment (the end of November) there is not the slightest doubt that the building will be turned over for use at the appointed time and that those who rented the apartments will not be disappointed. I must add that the workers employed on the construction are not numerous, that in general the building site is quiet and clean, and that the adjoining sidewalks are passable, and that one gets the impression that the building goes up and up all by itself.

"This is again an example of work well organized. I think it is also a question of something else, which is even more important; namely, planning. The graduates of our economic institutions may ask: how is that possible? Planned economy under the capitalist system? I think, however, that without thorough planning it would not be possible to carry out this particular building project or the construction of many other buildings in America, implemented according to most exact deadlines; neither would it be possible to carry on many long-term investment projects, where the dates of delivery of materials, their quantities, the financing, labor force, etc., are all calculated in advance.

"Perhaps it would be worthwhile—even if it sounds paradoxical—to interest ourselves in the planning system of the American capitalist economy.

Bus Drivers' Productivity

"Finally, the third example, which concerns simple labor productivity. I refer to it because I think that a further factor of American prosperity is great labor productivity, often much greater than ours.

"Almost every day, and often several times a day, I take a bus. Each time, I admire the way the New York bus-drivers work. Each of the drivers performs the work of both driver and conductor. . . . Thus, the driver must see that each passenger pays his fare, must hand out change, and the so-called transfers; apart from this he must, of course, pay attention to driving his bus in the heavy New York traffic. It is true that here the people have much more discipline than in Warsaw, and don't push so much. It is true that the buses are not as crowded; however, in the rush hours the buses are quite crowded and the task

of the drivers is not at all easy.

"The fact is that the driver does a two-man job. Presumably he is rather tired after work; however, the wages are comparatively high and the majority of drivers can afford to buy cars of their own, television sets, etc. I think that many of the Polish drivers would be willing to work this hard if they knew it would bring them so many advantages.

"In my opinion, then, American prosperity can be traced to three factors: good work organization, economic planning, and labor productivity."

Black and White



Two
Views
of the
Negro
Problem

Above, a photo from the Polish weekly picture magazine *Swiat* of January 6, 1957, with the following comment: "The Negro is not always at the service of the white man [in the US]. Here is a scene from a shopping trip by a Negro girl. She is buying merchandise from a white tradesman. Most probably his standard of living is much lower than that of his client." Below is a photo taken from *News-week* showing, according to the Romanian Party paper *Scinteia* of December 19, 1956, a Negro woman in Montgomery, Alabama, watching "with horror" three KKK men with "blood-stained hands" hidden in their cloaks.

has changed. At present, thousands of young Americans go on their own to Moscow and Leningrad. . . . The 'thaw' is also noticeable in the American journalistic and television sphere and . . . in films and theater."

The Polish regime writers now put a far more favorable construction on America's intentions in the world. Previously, for instance, American foreign aid programs were categorically condemned by the Soviet bloc as "interference" and outright imperialism. Now, calling for an end to "suspiciousness," spokesmen in the Polish press assert that close contact and collaboration with the US need not jeopardize the integrity of Poland. In fact, the Polish regime has officially asked the US for economic help. In *Prawo i Zycie* (Warsaw), December 16, 1956, Stefan Boratynski wrote:

"The main . . . obstacle hampering [our] development is the provincialism of our country and our isolation from technical progress being made throughout the world. International collaboration should not . . . be limited to government contacts. . . . As long as these limitations exist we shall always be going around in a world of archaic habits and conceptions of international relations [such as] the belief that foreigners should be looked upon as spies and diversionists or, at best, candidates for these functions. . . . Starting with the creators of jazz and ending with great scientists and Nobel Prize winners, [all were] on the forbidden list. . . .

"Many things should be done to find the right place for Poland not only in the Olympic games but generally in the international arena. At many election gatherings in the US, the campaigning mayors, Governors and Senators . . . quote the names of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, whenever there are Americans of Polish origin present. Is it not high time to give those symbols of history actual and living expression?

. . . "We can count on the American nation which, while respecting our system and political decisions, will not be sparing with its sympathy, just as Kosciuszko and Pulaski did not spare it for Americans who were fighting for freedom. It would perhaps be useful to engage some American specialists to help us to organize profitably the production of Zeran [a large auto factory in Warsaw and center of pro-Gomulka strength in the October upheaval]. American aid would not of course change the fact that politically and socially Zeran would always mean something different from Ford.

"A similar situation exists with respect to the loan from the US. Needless to say, the loan is needed. . . . It is necessary to allay the fears and dispel the superstitions which have grown around the matter of foreign loans during past years. . . ."

Certain features of United States policy are still objected to: the policy of "liberation," the question of recognition of Poland's Western border, the building up of the West Germany army. But, said Boleslaw Wojcicki in *Trybuna Ludu*, December 9, 1956: "There is evidence that these issues of contention can be resolved in the mutual interest." As evidence of improved relations he cited the trade negotiations with the US then in progress. The author called the establishment of these trade relations "a test of the sincerity of American policy . . . all the more

important because the respect and sympathy for Poland has undeniably increased within the American community in recent times."

Hungary

IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY Hungary, as in Poland, the increase of East-West contacts, and the intellectual awakening, led to bewilderment and demand for enlightenment. In a "Sunday letter" broadcast by Radio Budapest, September 22, 1956, Communist historian, Gyozo Ember, explained why people in Budapest "stare in wonder" at visitors from the West: "Excuse my using a peculiar expression, but the Western world ought to be rehabilitated to a certain extent, because we presented it in a false light and gave a misleading picture of it. Our most impressionable age group was made to believe that one half of the world is utterly rotten. As a result of such a representation, it is obvious that the West is either despised or overestimated. This results in confusion, which makes people stare at foreigners open-mouthed, and leads to crowds around luxury cars. . . ."

A positive attitude was adopted toward particular features of Western economy—mainly technique and technology—which could be usefully adopted in the homeland. The comments of a Hungarian agricultural delegation just returned from a three-week tour of the United States were quoted in the Party's paper, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), January 17 and 20, 1956: "Mechanization in American agriculture is developing at a rapid pace and far surpasses the stage of mechanization in Hungary. As a consequence the corn production yields are much higher than in our country. Cattle-breeding is also much more successful. . . . Sowing in squares is universally applied." (Previously the technique of sowing in squares was presented as an achievement of Soviet agriculture.)

However, despite this approval of specific aspects, old-line slogans referring to "the agricultural crisis," the "crisis of overproduction," etc., appeared recurrently in the Hungarian press. For example, in a reference to the soil-bank plan, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), January 7, 1956, said: "We . . . see that while the peace-loving countries are engaged in breaking the virgin areas in order to promote the well-being and the food supply of the population, the United States is anxious to keep part of the land barren in order to prevent the people from getting cheaper food."

In Hungary the major change was the new view of Western culture and society—this being the main sphere of interest of the Hungarian writers and intellectuals (many of them Communists) who, in their rebellion against Sovietization, sought to re-identify Hungary with the European community. For the captive intelligentsia Western Europe became what it had been before Communism: the model of free thought and advanced civilization. Although one of their chief demands was for the dissociation of politics from non-political matters—whether art, literature or Coca-Cola—there were also some bold, if delicately expressed, comparisons of political and social conditions in Hungary and the free world. The majority of these more outspoken

outbursts occurred in the tension-filled weeks between Rakosi's ouster in summer and the outbreak of the revolt in October. More and more in these weeks the criticism assumed the hue of the Polish variety.

To contribute to the extension of knowledge of international art and culture, a new magazine called *Nagyvilag* ("Wide World") was launched. *Irodalmi Ujsag* (Budapest), October 20, 1956, praised the magazine, calling its founder "a fine Hungarian, and at the same time the finest European and cosmopolitan" (a term formerly of the highest abuse). "The task of this monthly," said *Szabad Nep*, October 18, 1956, "is to prove that we have grown up. *Nagyvilag* was started with the objective of keeping abreast of the times and making up for what was lost in the past [through] unwise tactics. . . ." The magazine contained work by Western writers and covered the musical events, movies and fine arts of a variety of European nations. The first issue, October 15, 1956, was its only appearance: the magazine became a victim of the revolution.

"In Paris Again"

IN THE EYES of the pre-Communist East European intelligentsia, France was the motherland of European culture. Modern French literature, philosophy and painting had a strong influence on the evolution of modern Hungarian culture, and this was symbolized by Paris. Consequently, during the heyday of anti-Western propaganda, Paris was made the symbol of Western decadence and depravity.

In *Magyar Nemzet*, August 31, 1956, Laszlo Balo (one-time editor of the Trade Union paper *Nepszava*) wrote from Paris in an article titled "In Paris Again": "I am strolling through the streets of Paris—and I am annoyed. When I read the reports [from France] in the past years, I did not imagine Paris and the life of Parisians to be like this. Those reports gave distorted information. Their authors viewed life here through a black glass, seeing only the bad things. They evidently believed that since they were writing about a capitalist country, they had either to write bad things or nothing. . . ."

In the September 9, 1956, issue of the same paper, Balo commented on the French character, and while decrying its individualism and indifference to events and other people, added this qualification:

"As the *Arlberg Express* was pulling out with me from the Gare de L'Est, I reflected on the question of what remains so attractive in the French, in Paris and in France, amid so many good and bad things. . . . I recalled a blind beggar in a wheelchair, and his black dog, at the corner of the Rue de Buci and the Rue de Seine. A woman and then a man came in turn, greeted the beggar, slipped a coin in his hand only to start chattering in a trio like old acquaintances, about the beggar's dog, the weather, the housing difficulties and the price of food. . . . And I answered myself: It is the unpretentious informality and spontaneous humanity of cultured and civilized fellowship."

One of the leading spokesmen and ideologists of the French Communist Party, Andre Wurmser, and his wife

Ode to Europe

By Tamas Aczel*

Excerpts from *Irodalmi Ujsag* (Budapest), October 6, 1956

EUROPE, your roads become crowded with cars flitting by, Inquisitive glances pierce veils of your boundaries, your toll-gates are raised; tens of thousands storm the travel bureaus; what is this restlessness, fever, longing: it is as old as mankind and yet so young; to see and learn, to wonder and admire, Europe: old, yet eternally youthful, Vienna today, Paris tomorrow and London the day after, no longer unattainable dreams, no longer the pleasure of bored millionaires. Europe, your roads are filled with us, simple people, who stop at corners and ask which way to take—I too stopped at the corner, the night was filled with lights, the hum of the crowds, incredible on the corner of the Graben and the Kaertnerstrasse a mere sixty kilometers from the border and yet, so far, so far. I must admit, I was a little ashamed, like the country boy for the first time in the big city, his head swirling in traffic, he closes his eyes, gasoline fumes, strange women's scent, Europe. And then I thought of you, poor Hungary; I know you well, your dusty roads I've travelled from Debrecen to Hegyeshalom, back home everything has a different taste, I know the language; my mother tongue, only in you can I live and die, weep and declare my love, swear tastily like the old peasants of the Plains that the crop was poor and yet taxes take everything . . .

We raise the gates, look around in the world,
We thrust away the hand that seeks to hold us back,
We have had enough of living in isolation, being passed by,
Let fresh air stream in, the wind blow,
It won't frighten us, indeed not!

*Tamas Aczel, a prominent Communist writer awarded the Stalin Prize, became a Nagy supporter and played an active part in the Hungarian literary rebellion of 1955 and in the 1956 writers' revolt which paved the way for the Hungarian uprising. He escaped from Hungary during the revolution and is now living in the West.

visited Hungary during the summer of 1956 and published a report which asserted that political life in Hungary was more advanced than in France. In a carefully worded reply, the Hungarian writer Andras Ronay Mihaly (a non-Communist but until 1956 a regime sympathizer) rejected their view. His article appeared in *Magyar Nemzet*, October 14, 1956 (just before the Revolt):

"After Tissot, who described Hungary as an exotic world, and Sauvegeot who, just as inaccurately, described us as a backward country, [now there is] Mr. and Mrs. Wurmser, who are the first French authors who consider Hungary more advanced than France, perhaps not in culture or industry, but politically. Tissot spoke of a gypsy country and you write about a gypsy blacksmith who is shocked over the way of life of the French peasant.

"It is rather embarrassing to comment on this, and to

disclaim the honor is even more difficult. But it should be stated that even though you are good friends of ours, you have come to Hungary to find confirmation of your principles [i.e. the superiority of Communism] which, for the sake of France are dear to you. . . . We had a poet in the past, Janos Vajda, who had similar views. . . . It was in 1849, when he fought in the Hungarian Revolution, that he spoke to France of the fact that while France had lost her revolution Hungary was just starting one which might benefit the French too: 'An unknown people will give you back your freedom.' This may have been a little naive, even presumptuous; yet such things are dear to a nation's memory. And what can we say today, a country whose poets have for a century and a half considered Paris their example; what can we say to the French writer when he takes a look at Budapest now?"

Rehabilitation of Western Writers

THE INTELLECTUAL leaders of the pre-Revolt ferment were determined to put an end to the exclusion of Western literature. This included the rehabilitation of writers in the free world whose work had been boycotted in the Soviet bloc because of their repudiation of Communism. *Magyar Nemzet*, June 24, 1956, wrote: "We followed a wrong practice in the summary 'disqualification' of some of the [English] writers. . . . In the Thirties, members of a [certain] group of young writers, including talented poets such as Auden, Spender and C. Day Lewis, not only professed to be Communists in a political sense but also served Socialist ideals by their works. Later they unfortunately turned away from Socialism and returned to the way of bourgeois individualism. . . . Stephen Spender openly joined the camp of the enemies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Yet, it would be wrong to disclaim the values they produced in the [pro-Communist] period of their literary activities and to refuse to take any further notice of their poetry. This is what happened during the last six or seven years. By our muteness we consigned them to 'the other side.' We also disregarded Huxley instead of publishing his valuable works and of taking issue with him regarding his controversial writings."

In return, these "liberal" Communists pleaded for recognition of Hungarian culture: "The English public knows us but little and that little is for the most part false. Quite enough books have been published and are still published about the People's Democracies in general, but they cannot give any true idea of our affairs as their attitude is hostile and their sources are unreliable. Our publishing houses are now entering into closer relations with English publishers and in this way we hope to be able to inform the English people through our books of the achievements of Hungarian science, Hungarian art, the real face of Hungary. . . ."

Irodalmi Ujsag, September 15, 1956, carried an article by Communist writer Laszlo Nemes praising Ernest Hemingway for "The Old Man and the Sea" and recanting the propagandistic portrayal of Hemingway as a degenerate. Nemes condemned "the manner in which a photograph and caption, published a few years ago in *Irodalmi Ujsag*, created



"Why does Vice President Nixon practice golf all day long?"
"Well, you see, as a result of changes in the Constitution he may have to take over the sick President's work."

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), March 24, 1957

a completely false impression of the great American author. In that photograph he appeared half-naked, unshaven and dishevelled, living among the fishermen of Cuba, preparing to write this work of art." Nemes confessed "it was I who had discovered that photograph in one of the American weeklies, *Time* or *Newsweek*. Actually all we learned from the little article [accompanying it] was that Hemingway had been in an air crash in Africa and when contacted in the jungle asked primarily for whisky to be sent to him. It is true that he does not scorn liquor, but this is not an altogether unknown phenomenon in the case of authors and artists in other parts of the world. The attitude with which we pounced on this little article is rather pathetic, for at this time we did not and could not have known anything about his literary activities, the work he was preparing. . . . We believed, and were only too glad to state in writing, that he was heading only for ruin."

Nemes concluded: "Light, more light and fresh air. That is what we demand. More learning, understanding, world experience, good faith; because without these there is no way out of provincialism, there is no literature, no art and no progress."

American Writing

Stalinist criticism of non-Communist American literature consisted simply of dividing it into two categories: serious literature which was called decadent, nihilist or bourgeois-minded; and popular literature—comics and Westerns—which deliberately corrupted the masses. By way of contrast, on September 10, 1956, in a review of William Faulkner's novel "A Fable," *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) made this evaluation of current American writing: ". . . . Of course, the works of the few great American authors mentioned in this article do not reflect the great diversity of present-day American literature. . . . Quite a few works were published recently by authors less important than Faulkner and Hemingway, which deal with clear-cut subjects worth the most serious interest of readers and review-

ers. They depict life in an authentic way, and are sometimes of real literary value. . . . Important things are happening in the literary life of the United States. The problems of our age attract ever larger groups of writers, provoke thought and inspire literary people. The sincere endeavors of writers to understand events and seek for new forms . . . guarantee the effective further development of American literature."

The acceptance of American popular culture was manifested strikingly in the evaluation of American films. The American film had been regarded as a high-concentrate capsule of all the poisons of the American way of life, and was thus scathingly condemned. In the brief new era of relative freedom of expression, not only was the movie "Marty" commended for its realism and universality (*Magyar Nemzet*, August 12, 1956) but even lighter American films such as musical comedies, which had been seen by Hungarians visiting the free world, were approved. *Magyar Nemzet*, October 9, 1956, published the comments of one of the members of a three-day excursion to Vienna organized by the Hungarian Trade Union of Printing and Paper Industry. The writer observed that because of the biased and rigid propaganda of past years, the majority of people had become skeptical of it even in matters "that were really black and white." For this reason, for example, every member of the excursion to Vienna rushed to try Coca-Cola. "How was it possible, indeed, to campaign against a refreshing drink, making it a symbol of the Marshall Plan subjugation of Western nations by America? Hungarians visiting Vienna now tried it and decided with a few exceptions that it tastes like a gargle, but that its coldness was pleasant. Coca-Cola, as an issue in our life, assumed its proper modest place. . . ."

A similar situation prevailed in regard to American films: "the exaggerated propaganda had its inevitable though unwanted effects here too. In spite of the fact that a movie ticket in Vienna was very expensive for us (we had to pay double the price because of the disadvantageous exchange), everybody rushed to the movies and—what is more—wanted to see American films. I myself saw three American films."

The writer was particularly impressed by a Fred Astaire movie, the plot of which he summarized in detail. According to his account the film was "passionately" discussed on the return boat and was considered the best, the most amusing, the most advanced technically of all the films the visitors saw in Vienna.

'Segregation'—US and Hungary

Racial segregation in the United States has always been one of the prime targets of anti-American propaganda; the restrictions of Negroes' rights was cited as proof of the falseness of American democracy and freedom. In *Irodalmi Újság* (Budapest), September 8, 1956, writer Gyula Hay in one of his most famous articles drew a bold parallel between discriminations and restrictions in the US and Hungary. (Hay, a leading Communist playwright, turned against the regime in 1954, supported Nagy and became one of the leaders of the writers' revolt; he was arrested by the Kadar regime.)

In this article Hay wrote: "[We, as human beings,] feel curbed in our freedom when, in the US, we are forced to sit in separate sections of streetcars; or when, at Lake Balaton, deep in the water of the lake we find the world is divided by barbed wire [reference to fenced-off enclosures for use of Party elite]; when, on certain streets leading to the homes of certain people, we are stopped by a soldier; or when, as happened to one of our well known poets a short while ago, we are questioned and investigated just because we wanted to travel to a city near the border—with all the proper papers—and with no interest other than the childhood memories there. . . ."

Post-Revolt Stand

AFTER THE REVOLT, the presentation of the character and intent of the free world reverted to the old pattern.

In a speech to Party activists on January 16, Premier Janos Kadar called for "radical improvement in radio and press propaganda," which he described as the central problem of ideological work among the masses and of the struggle against the "counterrevolution." Kadar complained that the Hungarian press not only was relying on Western bourgeois press techniques—sensational illustration and news presentation—but also, "under the slogan of some kind of objectivity," was featuring mainly news items from capitalist countries, "as if there were no Socialist countries." (Radio Budapest, January 16.)

The press under the Kadar regime is still publishing minor items about Western cultural achievements without deprecation; however, vigorous attacks on the conditions in the free world have begun again. One of the purposes of this campaign appears to be to discredit the free world in order to discourage would-be escapees, another aim is to "prove" American "imperialism" so as to justify Soviet armed intervention. Regime spokesman in the press are trying to show that, just as in the past the negative features of America and the West were exaggerated, so in the months before the Revolt the merits were overstated and the flaws ignored. Now—according to the Kadar press—it is time to "find the correct balance." This "balance" is, of course, turning the scale to the detriment of the West. In an article in *Nepszabadság* (Budapest), January 20, 1957, Istvan Markus wrote:

"Those who despair and lose heart in the face of our grave difficulties and the sight of mistakes yet to be corrected are also inclined to lose their sense of judgment. They claim that while we are beset by severe economic and political worries, everything is just rosy in the capitalist world. This is simply not true. In the past we made serious mistakes in our reporting about the capitalist world. We spoke only about the economic difficulties, the approaching crisis. We painted an unrealistically dark picture of the West and described with unreasonably rosy colors our own growing world, often depicting our own hopes and desires and not the real state of affairs. We neglected to mention the boom in the West, instead of looking into its causes. That is how the exaggerations of Radio Free Europe found credit with so many people. And now the capitalist Western press expresses an understandable



Urzica (Bucharest), February 20, 1956, reprinted from Szpilki (Warsaw).

amazement at the fact that the recently escaped Hungarians had an utterly unrealistic, idealized concept of the West, and that they have become bitterly disillusioned on meeting the reality.

“Why is it necessary to state all this? Because since the beginning of the New Year there are reports of grave economic difficulties in the capitalist world. It seems that the boom of recent years has come to an end. The British automobile industry is laying off tens of thousands of workers. In Austria, during the first days of January alone, the number of unemployed increased by nearly 50,000. In the United States, due to the huge surplus crops, the area under grain is reduced year after year. The oil shortage is a growing danger to the British and French economies.

“We do not mention all this in an attempt to make our readers forget the errors and temporary failures of the Communist world movement. But to get a true picture we must not overlook these facts. And if we weigh everything, it becomes quite clear that those who despair and lose heart are wrong. The scale tips to the side of Socialism. And this is quite natural because the Socialist system represents human progress and historic inevitability. . . .”

Anti-West attacks in post-revolutionary Hungary sometimes express angry disillusion. A bitter article in the Party paper *Nepszabadsag*, January 20, 1957, charged that throughout its history Hungary had been repeatedly “let down” by the West. Though these views may reflect the feelings of many leftist intellectuals who risked their lives in the Revolt, the Kadar regime undoubtedly approves of and encourages the stand that nothing but betrayal can be expected from the West:

“There is a . . . widespread form of mimicry, fawning and outright bootlicking. Offhand I cannot call this anything but ‘Western orientation.’ I can hardly contain my

wrath when I hear again and again [people saying] that now we must act wisely, that the West will guarantee our national independence . . . that we must take the right position so that the West will give us protection, loans, friendship, everything that is good and expensive, or rather, good and inexpensive. . . . Where do these people live? What are they dreaming about?

“I make haste solemnly to declare that I am not against the West; as a writer I should not have to emphasize that. Ever since childhood I have reverently read the great novels and poems created by Western genius—the supply is inexhaustible. I wish I could have visited the treasure houses of culture, the pictures of Leonardo da Vinci, Goya, the statues of Michelangelo, the birthplace of Moliere’s brilliant plays and the ideals of the French Revolution.

“As a human being I owe a great deal to the Western half of Europe. But if I look at the West as a Hungarian, through my nation’s history and the tribulations of the Hungarian State, I cannot conceal my disappointment and bitterness. It is quite possible that my list is incomplete and I apologize for this. . . .

“What did the great warrior Hunyadi receive from the West when, as ‘the shield of Christendom,’ he was engaged in mortal combat against the Turks? A priest who could hardly speak Hungarian.* What did the Hungarian nation get after bleeding for a century and a half under the blows of the Turks? The Habsburgs, who hurriedly sliced a piece from the ruined country. What help did Ferenc Rakoczi** get against the Habsburgs? From the French court, a pleasant, well-mannered, elderly gentleman, the Marquis Desalleurs. What help did Kossuth get, also against the Habsburgs? Not even an old Marquis. But soldiers, guns, protection, friendship—and, as it is called, ‘guarantee of a

* St. John Capistrano, Italian priest

** Patriot and leader of an 18th century uprising.

national existence'—never. Oh, yes, on one occasion we did get soldiers. In 1919, Entente troops. Not for our protection, but to crush us. But why should I continue? My generation, in a lifetime, has experienced two World Wars, a Trianon peace treaty, a Hitler. . . ."

In this anguished litany, there is little of the dogmatism and self-righteousness of official Communist propaganda. Rather, the author ends on a note of fatalism which implies more than it states: "The West is still the West and we are in the Danube Basin, Big-Power politics is still what it was, business is business and indifference is still indifference. . . . Our greatest statement, Lajos Kossuth, wrote to Szechenyi: 'Politics is the science of exigencies . . . that is, of requirements, the requirements of the times.'"

Much propaganda is attached to the subject of those who have fled to the West and their alleged disenchantment with it. Regime propaganda aims particularly at proving that the refugees are much worse off than they were before at home, that the conditions of earning a living are no better, in fact worse, than in Hungary, that the constraint and bondage are just as great as they are in Soviet-occupied Hungary. *Nepszabadsag*, January 27, 1957, carried this report on some refugees who had returned to Hungary:

"It was not only homesickness and family ties which brought them back home. . . . These people have realized: capitalism is what it always was, and, as for Socialism's drawbacks—these can be remedied. They never mention capitalism and Socialism directly, but these were the real issues involved. . . . A husky young man, who lost 25 pounds in 12 weeks, says: 'I had no time to even smoke a cigarette. I was lifting 100-lb. heavy metal sheets and if we stopped for a minute, there was the foreman pressing us on. If we worked as hard back home as we were driven there, we would have the same living standard too.' . . . A quiet bespectacled young man remarks: 'All that the Hungarian (pre-Geneva) papers wrote about the West proved to be 80-90 percent true. Those who claimed that everything is just wonderful there and terrible here were definitely wrong. I was in France, and there too the price of two lbs. of meat costs the equivalent of four-five hours of wages. But try to buy a shot of liquor or go to the movies; we thought it over twice before doing any such thing. . . .'

"Another man points out that everything costs money in the West. Free services which our new nation takes for granted must be paid for over there. For instance, not only do you have to pay the doctor, but you have to pay in advance; without advance payment he won't even look at a patient.

"Then talk turns to conditions back home. I am careful not to create false illusions. Of course we must work in Hungary too, if we want to overcome the difficulties. . . . There must be discipline and order and with a strong hand the government is establishing this. . . .

"When the matter of norms is brought up, [the reparations] show no surprise at the fact that whenever it becomes necessary and justified, the norm system will be re-established. There is a norm system in the West too; at most places the workers are paid piece rates, and no one seems to object to this. . . .

"These last three months have taught a real lesson to tens of thousands of Hungarians. Even if they have not be-

come thoroughly acquainted with the Western world, they have been cured of their illusions and regained their proper perspective. A way must be found for the whole nation to benefit from these experiences. This will not only help the sobering-up process but also serve our development."

Both a practical and a propaganda issue of great urgency confronting the post-revolutionary regime in Hungary was the mass defection to the West of young, trained technical experts. It was well known that such specialists had long admired Western technology and considered the professional opportunities and living conditions in the West far superior to their own. An article written by a technical expert dealing with this subject appeared in the regime organ *Nepszabadsag*, December 28, 1956. It was prefaced by an editor's note disclaiming approval of many of its ideas but stating that they ought to be "aired." The article began: "Our industry will soon be faced by a new problem: the shortage of experts. Among those who have left the country are a large number of industrial technicians, physicians, agricultural and economic specialists. The reason for their leaving is simple: they saw no future for themselves or for Hungarian industry."

The writer said that even during the past years the Hungarian "technical intelligentsia" was not isolated from the West, because through technical literature they were always in contact with "that world which was constantly abused and run down by our former politicians." It was impossible to get along without the technical literature of that world because these books and publications "were the source of most of our 'original' innovations" and the means by which the Hungarian experts became acquainted with new technical advances.

"If" said the author, "the experts compared the technical literature of these two separated worlds—or rather the worlds which were artificially separated by our politicians—they would easily detect the discrepancy between the truth and the things their masters wanted them to believe." In reading foreign technical literature the Hungarian expert was bound to realize how far Hungarian technological research and development were lagging behind: "If he considered our situation—bad management, shortages of machinery, tools and materials—he could not feel optimistic about the future of Hungarian industry. Our engineers were full of enthusiasm during the inspiring days of the Three Year Plan [1947-1949]. . . . But they became disillusioned when they realized that the large projects and plans went beyond realistic possibilities in Hungary."

Furthermore, when reading the advertisements about job opportunities in the West, they became aware of the inferiority of their own situation. At the official rate of exchange the salaries were three to four times higher; on the basis of actual purchasing power, much higher. Even for the theoretically well-paid technical expert in Hungary, the six-passenger car owned by the American engineer or even the two-seater of the Austrian engineer were unattainable dreams; he could not save enough to get an apartment or furniture and he could not even be sure that an apartment would be assigned to him. All these things "did not serve to arouse the desire of the higher technicians to

devote their lives to the building of Socialism, the shortcomings of which were so apparent. . . ."

The author charged that "our 'leaders' of course realized that the experts had the best opportunity to gain insight into [real] conditions and for this reason . . . were particularly anxious to cut them off from foreign contacts, though recently this attitude had been relaxed. . . ." He urged that steps be taken to halt the exodus from the country, not by punishing those who try to escape and denying passports to those who request them, but by making fundamental changes in the industrial policy and economic life. Among other measures, he suggested that the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States set up technical information centers in Hungary which would furnish technical literature and research results. In conclusion, he stated: "Generally people do not like to leave their own country. To a certain extent they are willing to take less at home rather than something better abroad. But there comes a point when they do choose the new home. Of course we cannot promise our experts that they will attain an American standard of living, but we must do everything possible to assure that Hungarian industry does offer a future for the Hungarian expert."

Czechoslovakia

CZECHOSLOVAK REGIME PROPAGANDISTS, with the tenacity which characterizes that regime's extreme political orthodoxy, still paint a blackened picture of the West, including its economic and political institutions. Only with respect to the products of Western music and literature is there a new receptive view on an official plane. The Czechoslovak press is under rigid control; but on occasion it obliquely reveals the existence of a growing restlessness and curiosity beneath the iron-heavy lid of regime pressure and censorship.

Vecerni Praha (Prague), September 13, 1956, wrote sardonically: "Every capital has some sort of specialty. Prague, in addition to beautiful sights, also has gazers. They belong to the species of two-legged mammals and their special trait is an abnormal inquisitiveness. They appear quite normal—until they catch sight of a Buick, Ford or Chrysler. They are particularly skilled in the art of siege, at times going so far as to prevent the owner access to his car. The excessive curiosity, of course, creates a very unfavorable impression on our guests. Gazers—be curious, but with good manners."

The Czechoslovak press has its official correspondents in the US, but their perspective on the American scene continues to be shaped by old-style Stalinist concepts. For example, Joseph Marrow's "Letter from New York" (*Kuety* [Prague], January 10, 1957) contrasts markedly with Polish comments on the city:

"New York is not a likable city. It has streets and entire neighborhoods where living or working must be true torture. . . . New York is primarily a gigantic store. A great deal is being torn down here to make room for new palaces of chrome and glass. A great deal is being built here—at

remarkable speed and with the use of all kinds of machines. A great deal of thought is given to perfecting business, finance, industry, transportation, communication, etc. The least thought is given to man."

The article gave detailed statistics on the increase of traffic problems and the rise of the crime rate, and described the lot of the average man in "classic" terms: "And how does the ordinary man live in New York? Insofar as he speaks with other people—in the park, the subway, restaurants, stores—he complains about the high prices in comparison with past years. Insofar as he buys he does so mostly on installments. Many . . . confided in me about their greatest worries: concern with depression, unemployment, with providing for their families. 'To lose one's job,' an employee of a well known business firm told me, 'means to be unable to pay one's installment fees . . . to lose everything bought during a time of boom. . . .'"

Commenting on the people's industriousness, the writer conceded that "not to see [some favorable characteristics] would be to fail to see the trees for the forest. But on the other hand in this American forest there are too many crooked and superfluous trees which block the healthy ones from sun and air." He reminded readers that "New York is not only Broadway and Fifth Avenue, but also dirty, stinking streets on the north, south, east and west of this metropolis. And their sight, believe me, is not a pretty one. . . ."

Although it is implicitly acknowledged that the West has a higher standard of living, and, particularly in the United States, the masses enjoy an abundance of comforts and conveniences denied to the people in the Soviet bloc, the Czechoslovak press maintains that this prosperity is at least partly a deception, since in many cases goods are "borrowed" on credit. The consumer credit system—installment buying, charge accounts, etc.—is represented by conventional Communist propaganda as a prime cause of the economic and social insecurity they attribute to capitalist societies.

A correspondent for the Party paper gave an account of



Man at left is an employee of a US public utility company. "Think of it," he says to his cell companion, "I merely delivered the gas bill to the Hungarian Legation and as I left the building two persons came up to me and arrested me on the spot."

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), March 24, 1957



"Double Vision" Dikobraz (Prague), February 21, 1957

a trip through Wisconsin. After noting with interest the Czech origin of the names of many popular beers advertised (Budweiser, Pilsner, Prager) the correspondent observed (*Rude Pravo*, October 3, 1956):

"On the way, along with the lovely houses and carefully trimmed lawns, we often saw things that surprised us by their contrast. For example, a concrete basement with a television antenna above it. This was a case of someone who began to build with small savings and a great deal of hope. The little savings disappeared, the great hopes disintegrated and the concrete basement remained. The man who lives in it shrugged his shoulders and bought at least a television set which is relatively cheap and for which he still had enough money."

The reporter said that it is a fact that there are many automobiles, but this in itself does not represent—"as many would have it"—the entire living standard of America, and it leaves out such a basic thing as "security"—presumably meaning pensions, insurance, medical care. A person must have a place to live and also wants to go to the movies; the cost in both instances is higher in the US than in Czechoslovakia, the author claimed. He concluded with the observation that "also, the automobile is not only a means of transportation . . . but also the greatest threat to

the lives and health of American citizens. It is a known fact that since the end of World War II approximately as many Americans have died in automobile accidents as did during the war. . . ."

An article in *Nova Mysl* (Prague), August 1956, contended that the celebrated living standard of the United States is not as high as it ought to be and as it would be under Communism: "Compared to the enormous possibilities of developing the welfare of all the people, which, under a Socialist social system, the high productivity of American industry would secure, the overall living standard of working people in the US is by no means high." The article said that the subsistence minimum arrived at for 1955 amounted to \$5,465 per year for an American worker with three dependents, but that almost 70 percent of the families in the US had an income under \$5,000 in 1954: "Approximately only one out of 20 American families has the material conditions for the way of life which American propaganda passes on as typical for the entire population of the US." As evidence of deterioration in the standard of living the paper reported that the production increase in the food, beverage and tobacco industries since 1949 "lagged one third behind the increase in the population."

"The advantages of Socialism over capitalism as far as distribution is concerned," said *Rude Pravo*, September 26, 1956, "are so obvious that people often ask why the advantages of our system do not manifest themselves even more concretely." The article stated that there are some highly industrialized countries which in the present, transient period of capitalist prosperity, achieve higher per capita production; the expendable national income of "imperialist states," it alleged, is also increased by "colonial" profits. The Socialist States, in addition to "defense costs and to some errors in the management of the national economy, which of course are burdens which affect the capitalist States much more," devoted a larger share of the national income to industrial investments. The article also mentioned the excessive growth of workers doing non-productive labor as a factor in the failure of national income to increase as expected under Communism.

Western Art Accepted

In regard to art and culture the Czechoslovak press admits the merits of Western achievements and the short-sightedness of the former policy of restriction and condemnation. *Literarni Noviny* (Prague), September 29, 1956, unequivocally asserted that the isolation from the literature of the West was not only exceedingly harmful to Czechoslovak art and its entire vision, but also made it impossible for "Socialist" literary science to work out objective theories and views about contemporary literature and art: "We were in the position of astronomers who only see half of the moon, and the more imperfect our methods the bolder were our judgments about the entire moon [including] its other half. Thus, we were astrologers rather than astronomers. . . ."

The article referred to a new periodical *Svetova Literatura* (World Literature) which in its first three issues fea-

tured both new and the older names of Western literature: "Since many of us have for the first time become acquainted with the work of Hemingway, Faulkner, Moravia, plus the existentialism of Sartre, Italian neo-realism in film, literature and painting, and Mexican primitive painting, we must note with surprise that what we have considered a singular feature of Socialist realism is simply a characteristic of the times, the face and speech of honest artists of today on both sides of the globe. . . ."

The regime enthusiastically supports cultural exchange which does not touch on ideological sensitivities and promotes the illusion of good will and solidarity. Music, particularly, is free from political or ideological taint. *Literarni Noviny* (Prague), September 8, 1956, wrote: "Something has happened that cannot escape the notice of even those people who are basically not concerned with politics. It can be observed by anyone just looking at the concert posters. One can even imagine that perhaps the 'Iron Curtain'—on closer examination one tends to believe it was the 'dollar curtain'—has been broken through and in more than one place." The newspaper listed the orchestras and musicians from the United States, Austria, West Germany, France, etc., scheduled to perform in Prague during the coming season. The Boston Philharmonic Symphony's visit to Prague in September was resoundingly welcomed by the Czechoslovak press. Of the concert conducted by Charles Munch on September 12, 1956, *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague) declared: "This was one of the great experiences of recent times."

But Czechoslovak policy has drawn a firm line beyond which exchange and affirmation of the West may not go. A recently published Slovak novel titled "If They Came" thus postulates a fictitious occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Americans with the disastrous effect of "overturning the people's conscience, their whole ethical criteria," according to *Smena* (Bratislava), February 28, 1957.

Czechoslovakia was a capitalist democracy in the Western pattern before the Nazi and Communist coups; its people, therefore, have some grasp of what such a system is and, more than elsewhere in the Soviet orbit it is difficult for the regime's propaganda to dismiss or distort these concepts. The Czechoslovak press is now regularly and firmly denouncing the "Western version" of democracy and freedom, even indulging in one-sided polemic with readers on these themes. "The more we shall fight for the deepening and strengthening of the People's Democracy the more absurd will be the efforts of our enemies to trap our people with the idea of the 'true'—i.e. the bourgeois—democracy and freedom, or the false 'absolutely free' elections," declared *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 13, 1956. *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), July 9, 1956, emphasized the thesis that the bourgeois opposition parties in capitalist countries express the struggle of various political groups but are all subject in one way or another to the ruling class; "they disorient the workers, making it difficult for them to recognize their true opponent. . . . In the US the system of two, virtually identical, capitalist parties is traditional. Does this in any way change the substance of the capitalist order in the country? . . . What function could an opposition party have in a Socialist State? It could only



Left, "Gulliver in Lilliput"; right, "Puss in Boots" (boots are the Democratic and Republican parties).

Scinteia (Bucharest), January 6, 1957

break down the unity of the working people, hamper their path toward Socialism. . . ."

The same paper revealed in its October 14, 1956 issue that several readers had asked "how matters stand on the question of freedom in our country." (The paper offered the stock "Marxist" formula that the Socialist State limits freedom only for the "exploiter.") *Rude Pravo* warned on October 4, 1956—just prior to the upheavals in Poland and Hungary—that "in connection with the attacks of hostile propaganda against the achievements of the working people in our country . . . [there have appeared] false demands for a 'pure democracy' and . . . for freedom for anti-popular and anti-Socialist opinions. Our people have conclusively rejected such a 'democracy.' Our concept of democracy is a class concept. Socialist democracy is the broadest democracy, the only true democracy."

The issue of freedom of inquiry and debate has been only briefly and gingerly touched upon by the Czechoslovak press, which undoubtedly is discomfited by having to touch upon it at all. *Mlada Fronta*, August 9, 1956, mentioned a letter from a reader which had proposed the restoration of private enterprise and property and which the paper had not published. When the writer wrote again charging that the paper could not have published the proposals even if it had so wished, the paper was forced to recognize the matter. The paper contended that "to strengthen and extend the freedom of our readers cannot mean to present them . . . with gratuitously conceived or repetitious, outdated prescriptions for life. We can best extend and strengthen the thinking of our readers by thoroughly acquainting them with the laws of nature and the development of society so that they can act in accordance with them. . . ."

Joseph Macek, a member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, defended Czechoslovak intellectual "freedom" in *Rude Pravo*, November 4, 1955. Macek complained after a trip to West Germany that little was known about Czechoslovakia in the West and what was known was based

on hostile propaganda. He declared that by showing them a Czechoslovak scientific publication he was able to convince the people that "nobody in our country gives orders to science about what to think, but that the results of scientific work are subjected to open criticism and free discussion."

Romania and Bulgaria

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, the "reconstruction" of the image of the West is largely confined to cultural matters, while its economic and political forms are still represented as a positive threat; in Romania and Bulgaria, there has been little change in the substance of comment on any aspect of the free world. The primary change is in the volume and degree: since 1954 the flood of anti-Western propaganda in the general press has been reduced to a trickle. However, in the special press, such as publications addressed to refugees or internal handbooks for Party agitators, anti-West propaganda still holds a dominant place.

The Romanian press has published few individual accounts of life in the West, although a number of delegations have visited the US from Romania. A Romanian physician who attended an international medical conference in Washington was quoted in *Contemporanul* (Bucharest), July 13, 1956: he was favorably impressed by the quality of medical research and the modesty of the research workers he met there. There is a marked absence of generalizations about American life or people in these occasional accounts. The regime apparently wishes to hold the line against any "unreasonable" expectations generated by post-Geneva events. Radio Bucharest, July 12, 1956, declared: "... scientific and cultural institutions are exchanging publications and visits ... the first steps toward improved relations between Romania and the US. However, their significance must not be exaggerated. Bear in mind that in the US certain circles are opposed to cooperation with our countries and in general with all [Communist-controlled] areas."



"Unemployment is certainly no reason why a man's hair should grow grey in the US, especially if he is bald. Bald men, it turns out, have altogether "unlimited possibilities" in this respect, as can be seen from our picture. These two men, for instance, are advertising a great show. Apparently their employers are not so much concerned with what they have inside their heads as with what they have on them."

Rohac (Bratislava),
January 31, 1957

The old, totally adverse view of capitalism prevails and includes repeated references to America's aggressive imperialist intentions stemming from its economic system. *Urzica* (Bucharest), September 1956, carried this characteristic comment: "It is well known that the United States is going through a most serious economic crisis ... due to agricultural surpluses. ... The reason capitalist countries have such difficulties is that the human stomach cannot absorb more than four kilograms of solid foods. In other words, people cannot afford to buy the surpluses, and even if they could afford them, their stomachs could not. What can be done? ... [A Canadian paper] has this solution: why not find a way to change grain into armaments? Those who cannot afford to buy their daily bread would receive it free—in the form of shells or bombs."

That America's goal is simply to dominate the world by force was reasserted by Radio Bucharest on January 15, 1957:

"Please step carefully on the pavement. Wherever you walk, you are treading on America's vital interests. The fact that you are in Romanian towns or villages is immaterial—it is an optical illusion! In fact, since last week when President Dwight Eisenhower delivered his message to the US Congress, all nations, the whole planet, has become the field of American interests.* He said: 'The vital interests of the United States spread over the whole world, over both hemispheres and all the continents.' The shrinking of the world has made the United States a neighbor of all countries. No bargaining, no discount is possible. If you live in this world, that is that; you are in the zone of the vital interests of the United States!

"About these vital interests Eisenhower modestly says: 'Our own clear interest, our character as a nation [not as a race, as was once said by somebody else theorizing about vital territory] gives us a lofty role in world problems, a role of vigorous leadership, of [the use of] prompt force.'

"Anyone would say that this is the most brazenly imperialistic declaration; that a US President has rarely dared

* This attack is directed at President Eisenhower's State of the Union message to Congress on January 10, 1957. The passages "quoted" by the Communist press are as follows (in sequence) according to the *New York Times*, January 11:

"... This Republic cannot be aloof to these events heralding a new epoch in the affairs of mankind.

"Our pledged word, our enlightened self-interest, our character as a nation commit us to a high role in world affairs: A role of vigorous leadership, ready strength, and above all, sympathetic understanding."

* * *

"The world has so shrunk that all free nations are our neighbors. Without cooperative neighbors the US cannot maintain its own security and welfare, because, first, America's vital interests are world-wide, embracing both hemispheres and every continent. Second, we have a community of interest with every nation in the free world. Third, interdependence of interests requires a decent respect for the rights and the peace of all peoples."

* * *

"When our forefathers prepared the immortal document that proclaimed our independence they asserted that every individual is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. ... Today we proudly assert that the government of the United States is still committed to this concept, in its activities both at home and abroad.

"The purpose is divine; but the implementation is human."



"We received two postcards from Podkowinski [recently a Polish foreign correspondent in the US] . . . from Miami, Florida. Although it is January, Miami is in the midst of its swimming season. Those enjoying it are mostly the rich and also . . . professional gamblers who, before noon, spend their time at the beaches and in the evening can be found in gambling clubs located on the beautiful street shown above, or on the waterfront boulevard pictured below."

Przekroj (Cracow), January 13, 1957

reveal so brutally the aim of the United States to dominate the whole world.

"However, it is not Eisenhower's fault. Like Moses returning from the mountain, he only reads divine orders: The ruling of all nations and peoples by the enlightened American trusts is the divine will, and, if some scream is heard from the British who were widowed of their oil, or if some choked gurgle is heard from the Cubans or Guatemalans whose windpipe is gripped by the plush-covered hand of US aid, this is only because the lofty divine will is being implemented by people who, poor souls, are imperfect.

"The aim,' says Eisenhower, 'is of divine nature. Its implementation is human.' The aim that the world should be led by the United States is divine. However, its implementation would be human, with prompt force, with vigorous force, with modern military force, in short, with force."

Bulgarian View

Bulgarian propaganda, passing over the contrary evidence which has unseated the old propaganda clichés in other parts of the Soviet bloc, continues to depict American economic life as marked by working class misery, growing unemployment, increasing pauperization, etc. The Bulgarian Agitators' Handbook (No. 24) for June 1956 claims that "according to American sources, the incomes of workers, even of those regularly employed, is not sufficient for the minimum necessities of life. . . . 20 percent of American families and two-thirds of the individual workers without dependents have so low an income that they can afford not more than 40 percent of the minimum necessities. At the same time 19 million American workers have less than 20 percent of the necessary minimum. . . . The number of such families is not decreasing but, on the contrary, is increasing."

Other themes are the domination of the government budget by military expenditures—at the expense of "education and culture"—and maximum profits for the "monopolists": "The whole political orientation . . . is directed toward the maximum increase of profits for the monopolists who stand behind the government."

In references to the problem of racial discrimination, unlike the Polish press which pointed out that the Supreme Court decisions represent an advance, the Bulgarian press stresses instead the accompanying disorders and friction in which, it was said, "the US government has proclaimed that it has no intention of interfering."

Similarly, still adhering to Stalinist platitudes, Bulgarian propagandists maintain that American art is commercial

and corrupt: "In the United States it is promised that one can learn to paint in a few weeks; machines for the composition of music are being advertised; works like those of Krauss [sic] are called: 'writing songs as a source of profit making.' . . . At present it is being said that true appreciation of the arts can be achieved only by a very few aristocrats; the fewer followers an artist has the more valuable his works are. . . ."

Even the American writers long ago appropriated by Communist propaganda for its own ends are not quite "progressive" enough, and are subject to "improvements." Writing of Jack London's play "The Theft" recently produced in Bulgaria by the Turnovo National Theater, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), October 6, 1956, commented: "What does the play reflect of our contemporary life? Above all, the supremacy of the social motive. The prosperity of the American ruling circles is built on theft—this is the central theme of the play. . . . At the end of the play, even though not very concretely, London conveys the impression that the future does not belong to those who make their fortunes by stealing from the working class. . . . The young directors and actors at Turnovo have correctly grasped the author's idea; some of the author's unfinished ideas are further developed [to their logical conclusion]."

Patterns and Conclusions

THUS IT CAN be seen that, in Poland and Hungary, a new objective view of the West was opened up during the period of the "thaw." Today, as a result of political pressures, there is a contraction, if not a retraction, under way. In Poland, it appears that a curb on freer expression of opinion in the press is part of the Soviet price for allowing the Gomulka regime relative freedom of action in the internal economic and political sphere. In Hungary, the Kadar press must of course discredit the West in order to discredit the Revolt and justify the repressive measures of the post-revolutionary period. But although outspoken praise of Western methods and institutions may cease, there can be no return to the distortions and falsifications of Stalinist propaganda. The curtain of isolation was pierced, not by "reactionaries" but by the Communists themselves. A world previously in eclipse was glimpsed whole, if only for the moment, confirming the convictions of those who had never credited Communist myths and opening the eyes of the deceived. Never again can the Communist propaganda machine manufacture its picture out of whole cloth, for reality has been acknowledged and cannot be forgotten or convincingly repudiated.



Building Industry

Fifth of a series of articles on the industrialization of Eastern Europe. Previous articles covered coal (July, 1956), electric power (September), iron and steel (October) and heavy chemicals (March, 1957). The installment below deals with the building industry in Poland and Czechoslovakia. It will be followed by another covering Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

I. Poland

THE FAILURES and accomplishments of Poland's building industry have to be seen against a background of war devastation, huge population shifts and the exigencies of Stalinism with its blundering and waste. Poland suffered great physical losses in World War II. When peace came, 75 percent of Warsaw lay in ruins; 65 percent of Wroclaw; 45 percent of Poznan. In the fall of 1956, after ten years of frenzied building, a Warsaw newspaper found thousands of families still living in squalor in the capital city alone.

"Five thousand families live in cellars, attics and alcoves. Another 3,000 families live in sheds. Eight thousand families live in overcrowded apartments (more than five persons in a room). . . . About 2,500 families live in overcrowded barracks in the suburbs of Warsaw. In some cases 10 persons live in a room 16 meters [about 53 feet] in diameter. To this figure we may add 2,500 married couples who live separately, waiting for apartments. . . . Another problem is presented by houses on the point of collapse. We have 450 such buildings in Warsaw, which house 5,500 persons." (*Prawo i Zycie*, October 7, 1956)

If Warsaw was rickety and overcrowded, other places were even worse. A nurse from Plock wrote to Radio Warsaw: "Why is it that people still have to live in overcrowded holes and cellars? . . . I know [an official]: he has a beautiful apartment. I told him once that I would be happy to have even his hall. . . ." (Radio Warsaw, January 26, 1956) Outside the cities and towns, things were no better. When Wladyslaw Gomulka made his famous opening speech to the Central Committee in October he dwelt emphatically on the rural housing problem. "Whereas



Caption: "The far-reaching investment plan will be carried out in large part by the building industry. The implementation of investment tasks will depend on the efficiency of that industry. For this reason, the Six Year Plan provides for the appropriate development of the building industry and for supplying it with the proper technical resources."

Polish sources now admit that much of the investment plan was not carried out, partly because the building industry fell short of its expected performance.

Caption and picture from *Plan Szescioletni*, Warsaw, 1952.

in towns and settlements, where the housing situation is also very difficult, a great effort is being put into new housing, house repairs and maintenance in the countryside are simply an alarming matter." The rate of new building was so far behind the probable rate of obsolescence, he said, that houses were depreciating more than twice as fast as they were being built (see November 1956 issue, p. 4).

These disclosures came at the end of Poland's Six Year Plan, conceived in the heyday of Stalinism. They represent part of the legacy of grandiose failure that has been handed over to the new Gomulka regime. The Plan had launched Poland on a vast program of industrial expansion. It had mobilized the largest force of construction workers in the Satellite orbit, numbering in 1953 more than 740,000, or over 12 percent of the total industrial labor force. Housing was only a small part of this effort, most of which was devoted to the construction of factories and public buildings. Indeed, from official statements it appears that house-building was the only part of the construction plan that was fully achieved.

Out of the Ashes

THE POSTWAR Ministry of Reconstruction, appraising the tasks that lay before it, estimated that war devastation encompassed 39 percent of all urban dwelling rooms and more than a sixth of all farmhouses, not to mention the losses to public buildings and industrial property.* Reconstruction began on an emergency basis, with priority given necessarily to the most essential industries and living areas. These included Warsaw and the territories acquired from Germany, where devastation had been greatest.

This principle was continued during the Three Year Plan (1947-1949), which specified that building investments would be concentrated on the repair and reconstruction of the "least-damaged properties." Solution of the housing problem was postponed until later; in the meantime only enough working-class housing would be provided to insure "uninterrupted production activity." Agricultural construction was limited to "one combined all-purpose building per farm." But in 1948 progress was declared to have been more rapid than planned, and greater emphasis was given to the rebuilding of badly damaged industrial plants. The rebuilding of Warsaw and Szczecin was also stepped up, and more funds were allotted to workers' housing, particularly in Silesia. The proportion of investment going to new facilities was increased, rising from 7 percent of total State investment in 1946 to 16 percent in 1947 and 34.5 percent in 1948. (*Gospodarka Planowa* [Warsaw], January 5, 1948)

By 1950 some improvement could be seen in the housing situation. The number of urban dwellings had increased by roughly 500,000 and the number of rooms by about 1,750,000. But a United Nations report says:**

"Only about 60 percent of this increase was due to new construction and reconstruction. The remainder was due to changes in administrative arrangements (such as former villages becoming towns), to changes in the use of premises (in 1946 a considerable number of buildings designed for habitation were used for other purposes, such as schools and offices) and to alterations made in dwelling houses."

The same report estimates that in 1950 the average number of persons per room in Warsaw was 1.9, as compared with 2.1 twenty years earlier. In Lodz the average was 1.9 compared with 2.5. Much of the difference must be ascribed to the war, in which Poland lost nearly a fifth of its population.

The Six Year Plan

WITH THE LAUNCHING of the Six Year Plan in 1950, Poland turned from reconstruction to a gigantic program of industrial development, designed to "lay the foundations of Socialism" at the breakneck Stalinist rate, with chief emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry. Total investment was expected to run as high as 25 percent of

the national income (actually it went higher), with industrial output rising by more than 150 percent. The Ministry of Reconstruction was replaced by the Ministry of Construction, and this in turn was subdivided into a Ministry of Construction of Cities and Settlements and a Ministry of Industrial Construction. Total "Socialized building" was expected to grow by 280 percent during the Plan, as measured in 1950 prices.

The planners recognized that the construction industry would be confronted with multiple demands. Aside from industrial construction, there would be an increased need for housing resulting from population growth and the influx of population into towns. The Plan called for the building of 786,000 urban dwelling rooms during the six years—all but 62,000 of them to be built by the State—and allotted about eight percent of total investment to this purpose. While the Plan promised that this would "improve the housing conditions of the working masses," it is now clear that the target was far too low to achieve such an end. The United Nations estimates that Poland's urban population grew during the period 1950-1954 by about 450,000 annually (*op. cit.*, p. 30). To have maintained the supply of urban housing at its 1950 density of about 1.5 persons per room would have required—allowing for replacement needs—upwards of 250,000 new rooms per year, or a total for the six years of about twice what was planned.

The Plan also set ambitious targets for the building materials industry. Production of cement was to increase by 100 percent, of bricks by 271 percent, of lime by 94 percent and of other products by corresponding amounts. In addition to the expansion of existing plants, a number of new facilities were to be built, including three cement factories, more than fifty brickyards, two lime kilns, two quartzite mines, two gypsum mines and "many" factories for prefabricated materials.

The failure to achieve these targets in building materials has been given as one of the causes of the failure of the Six Year Plan. The demands of the construction industry tended, as in other departments of the Stalinist program, to outrun supply. The disparity in pace was obvious by 1953, and according to one author the lag that year was as follows (taking production in 1947 as 100):*

Construction Industry	421
Cement Production	217
Brick Production	317

According to then Deputy Premier Jedrychowski, speaking at a construction industry conference in April, 1956, the production targets for cement and bricks were less than 80 percent fulfilled (see table). The lag in cement production was due to delay in construction of the "Wiek II" factory in the Warsaw district of Zeran, to the abandonment of another proposed factory and to "the failure to attain planned production in other factories" (*Trybuna Ludu*, April 18, 1956). Back of this lay shifts in investment outlays during the Plan. The armament build-up which took place during the Korean War had drained away funds

* *Rocznik Statystyczny* (Warsaw), 1948 and United Nations, *The European Housing Situation*, 1956, pp. 29, 31.

** *The European Housing Situation*, p. 30.

* Stanislaw Bartoszewicz, *Przemysl Materjalow Budowlanych*, Warsaw, 1955.

from the building materials industry. So had the New Course program of 1954 and 1955, when investment was sacrificed to a policy of raising the living standard. This limitation had proved "erroneous," he said, because it created bottlenecks in the supply of building materials, kept construction costs high and prevented a faster increase in housing construction.

The high targets of the Six Year Plan were also predicated on "hidden reserves" of productive efficiency which were not uncovered in practice. The industry failed to reduce costs and raise productivity to the extent that the planners had anticipated. For example, the Plan stated that "modern technical methods" should be widely applied, but at last year's building conference one engineer complained that available machinery was used to only 30 percent of capacity.

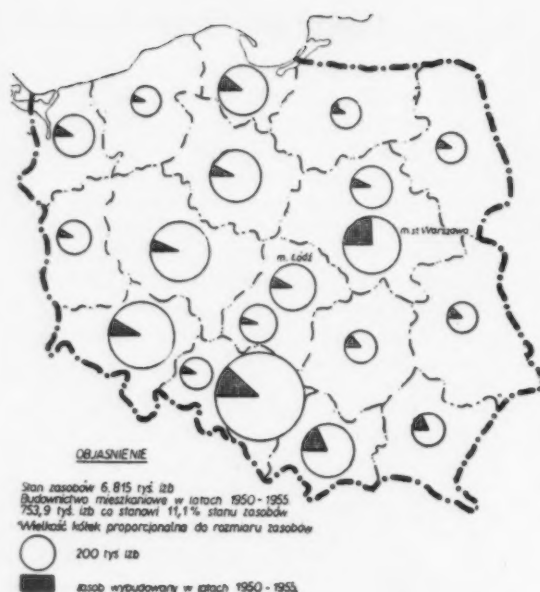
"This means that what we are concealing under the . . . sum of money spent on machinery is a sum actually spent on machinery standing idle. . . . If the machine is not followed by spares, by means of transport, it turns out that the delivery of the machine itself is only a secondary matter. At present such machines as excavators, excellent as a means of self-advertisement, spend more time at the base and undergoing repairs than at work. Concrete figures are: in towns and settlements, 2,500 hours at the base and undergoing repairs, and 1,000 hours of work annually; in industrial building, 1,700 hours at the base and undergoing repairs, 1,300 hours at work annually." (Radio Warsaw, April 20, 1956)

The Plan also put emphasis on the adoption of speedier work methods, specifically the brigade and link systems of work organization copied from the Soviet Union. Over the six years labor productivity, measured by the value of output per worker, was to rise by 86 percent. But here again the planners were doomed to disappointment. In July 1955 the monthly periodical of the construction industry *Przegląd Budowlany* (Warsaw), estimated the increase of productivity during the Plan at about 20 percent. In Warsaw progress was somewhat faster. *Przegląd Budowlany* estimated in October 1955 that productivity among Warsaw builders had risen 44 percent since 1951.

The Balance

In his speech of April 18 last year, Deputy Premier Jedrychowski summed up the industry's accomplishments during the Six Year Plan as follows: 12,000 industrial buildings, 817,000 urban dwelling rooms (built or restored), 1,514 schools, 500 nurseries, 258 creches, hospitals with 11,000 beds, 439 outpatient wards, 32 maternity clinics, 11 houses of culture, 118,000 rural dwelling rooms (not counting 263,000 constructed privately), 76,000 farm dwellings, 967 kilometers of city water lines, 389 kilometers of sewage mains, 3.4 million square meters of city paving, 213 kilometers of streetcar lines, 78 kilometers of trolleybus lines, theaters, sports stadia and "many other projects."

More detailed information on the housing program was published by *Miasto* (Warsaw), a magazine of urban architecture, in its September 1956 issue. Total construction in towns and workers' settlements during the Six Year Plan



The map shows the geographic distribution of urban housing space in Poland by provinces. Cross-hatched segments indicate the relative amounts built (in each province) during the Six Year Plan (1950-1955). According to the explanation at lower left, the number of rooms at the end of 1955 totalled 6,815,000, of which 753,900 or 11.1 percent were built during the Plan.

Miasto (Warsaw), September 1956

amounted to 817,700 rooms, or slightly above the 785,600 scheduled. The State built 768,400 of them, while private builders accounted for 49,300. (Private building was carried on by individuals and cooperatives with assistance from the State in the form of credit, land, and construction plans.) The magazine stated that the new housing supplied about 11 percent of the existing urban dwelling space. The city of Warsaw got the largest share of the new housing in proportion to its size—119,600 rooms—while the old industrial city of Lodz did comparatively poorly, with only 21,800 new rooms. Outside of the capital the lion's share of new housing went to the big industrial districts of Katowice and Krakow. In percentage terms the geographic distribution was as follows:

Cities		
Białystok	1.8	
Warsaw	15.5	
Lodz	3.1	
Districts and Provinces		
Warsaw	18.5	
Bydgoszcz	3.5	
Poznan	4.7	
Lodz	4.8	
Kielce	3.7	
Lublin	2.9	
Białystok	1.8	
Olsztyn	1.9	
Gdansk	5.6	
Koszalin	1.6	
Szczecin	3.0	
Zielona Gora	2.0	
Wroclaw	8.1	
Opole	2.5	
Katowice	20.7	
Krakow	10.3	
Rzeszow	4.4	

In several respects the final results differed from what

had been foreseen in the Plan. State construction exceeded the target by 6 percent, while private construction was 20 percent below its targets, the shortage of building materials having been felt mainly by the private builders. In some districts the State construction targets were overfulfilled by more than half, while in others, particularly Lodz, they were underfulfilled.

The Five Year Plan

By 1956 the social costs of the Six Year Plan had become too obvious to be concealed by official propaganda. In the growing political thaw the regime was finally forced to admit that Poland had paid too high a price for the "successes" of the industrial program and that the standard of living, instead of rising 60 percent as planned, had in some cases actually fallen. Average housing conditions, in spite of the new building, had deteriorated. Most of the population still lived in prewar dwellings, and large parts of Warsaw, Gdansk, Wroclaw and Szczecin were still in ruins. First Party Secretary Edward Ochab (since replaced by Gomulka) spoke last July of "the very acute housing problem which today haunts hundreds of thousands of families in Poland like a nightmare," and warned that it would take many years to overcome.

On August 3 the regime released its Five Year Plan, after hasty revisions to make it more palatable to a jaundiced public. Expenditures on housing by the State were

set at 14.4 percent of total expenditures, compared with 10.7 percent during the previous six years. A total of 1,200,000 rooms was to be built: one million of them by the State; 170,000 by individuals and cooperative groups with assistance and credit from the State; and 30,000 rooms without State assistance. The pace of house building was scheduled to rise by 80 percent—that is, from 166,000 in 1955 to about 300,000 in 1960. The Plan allotted two billion *zloty* in credits for private building. In answer to criticism that the rural population had been denied access to building materials in the past, the Plan was revised to provide them with 730,000 cubic meters of sawn timber and 570,000 tons of cement in 1956—compared with 518,000 cubic meters and 463,000 tons in 1955. (Radio Warsaw, August 31)

This part of the building plan received a lot of anxious scrutiny in the weeks that followed. Dr. Czeslaw Babinski, Deputy Minister of the newly reorganized Ministry of Building, said on October 16 that the housing situation was "bad." He revealed that the plan for 1956 had been only half fulfilled, mainly for lack of materials. He said that a recent analysis had shown that there was a shortage of materials for "over 100,000 rooms." (Radio Warsaw, October 16) Another somber note was sounded by two members of the Agricultural Committee in the Sejm (Parliament), where the Five Year Plan was under discussion. They said that the rural areas needed two or three million cubic meters of timber immediately, because thousands of



"A building site in Nowiejska Street in Warsaw, 1955. It shows confusion and carelessness."

Architektura (Warsaw), No. 2, 1956

neglected buildings were on the point of collapsing, and that the 730,000 cubic meters specified in the Plan would only make the situation worse by prolonging it. They admitted, however, that the extra supply could be obtained only by cutting back the amounts going to industrial and urban building or by a further raid upon the country's dwindling forests. (Radio Warsaw, October 16)

The shortage of materials had been emphasized in the Plan, which pointed to it as an important factor limiting the construction program and also as a hindrance to the proper conservation of timber supplies. The Plan called for a 78 percent increase in cement production and a 56 percent increase in that of red bricks (see table), as well as for similar increases in other standard building supplies. But Deputy Minister Babinski said in October (in the interview cited above): "The Five Year Plan lacks a solid foundation as regards materials. . . . We are short of materials not only in housing but in the entire building industry. We are, in fact, short of some 20 to 30 percent of the necessary materials." He did not explain the reason for the discrepancy. Economist Oscar Lange, addressing the Sejm on November 7, said that the shortage of building materials was "the biggest and tightest bottleneck in our national economy," and intimated that it would be necessary to cut back industrial construction in order to fulfill the housing program (Radio Warsaw, November 7). A similar suggestion was made by another economist, Stefan Kurowski, who wrote in *Zycie Gospodarcze* (Warsaw) on November 26 that "the requirement of a rapid increase in house building is primarily a requirement for a change in the distribution of the present supply of building materials and . . . an increase in housing construction . . . at the expense of industry."

In the welter of hopes and problems confronting Gomułka's new Poland as it entered 1957, the status of the building industry was somewhat uncertain. Further reorganization was under way, in line with the new policy of workers' participation in management. According to Acting Minister Kopec, the Ministry of Building was to be transformed from a managing organ into a policy-making body, with its personnel cut from 800 to 150 (Radio Warsaw, November 26). He said that building establishments would gradually receive autonomy under the management of workers' councils.

On December 19 the Ministry announced that, out of 116,000 dwelling rooms planned for State construction in 1956, some 21,000 would not be completed. The industrial building program was expected to be nine percent short of its target and rural building five percent (Radio Warsaw, December 20). The building materials industry had also fallen behind. The problem, however, did not seem to be one of materials alone. Economic planner Stefan Jedrychowski said on January 7:

"The failure to implement the plan for building and assembly work was caused to a very considerable degree by exceptionally difficult weather conditions in the first quarter of 1956, as well as by the early arrival of winter. But the cause . . . resides also in procrastination in reorganizing the building industry, the state of expectation created by the announcement of this reorganization and a general



"And after you have completed the building, my dear director, what are you going to do with the remaining materials?"
 "Nothing. By then everything will have been stolen."

Szpilki (Warsaw), August 19, 1956

slackening of discipline, as well as tardy and insufficient deliveries of building materials" (*Trybuna Ludu*, January 7).

Revised Plan for 1957

AT THE END of January the Council of Ministers approved a draft of the 1957 economic plan, an initial step in the general revision of the whole Five Year Plan. One of the most significant changes from the preceding year was an increase of 34 percent in outlays for the building materials industry. Outlays for schools and health centers will also be substantially raised. The housing target was set at 183,000 urban dwelling rooms, of which about 150,000 are to be built by the State, municipalities and various Ministries. It includes the completion of 20,000 rooms left unfinished in 1956. Private building will be encouraged: while investment in State housing will be reduced, credits to individuals and groups for private building will be considerably increased. It is estimated that private residential construction in 1957 will amount to more than 30,000 rooms. The plan also promises a large increase in building materials for the countryside.

The tug-of-war between industrial building and residential building seems bound to continue for a number of years. The paper *Zycie Warszawy* predicted on December

7 that the housing situation will grow worse by 1960. It said that "to maintain the present index of living space it would be necessary to build 2.75 million rooms during the Five Year Plan," a figure far in excess of what is now considered possible.

II. Czechoslovakia

CZECHOSLOVAKIA escaped the wholesale destruction visited upon some parts of Europe during the war. Housing conditions, though well below the West European standard, are better than elsewhere in the Soviet bloc. Last year a writer describing the housing situation in Prague consoled his readers with the observation that Prague citizens have about 11 square meters of living space per capita while the people of Moscow have only 7 (*Prace* [Prague], March 30, 1956).

Coalition Planning

THE FIRST BUILDING program was set forth in the early Two Year Plan of 1947-1948. This Plan was drawn up by the coalition government of President Benes, before the Communist coup of February 1948 and at a time when the building industry was still privately owned. It undertook to renovate or build 125,000 dwellings in the space of two years, "in order to reduce the acute housing shortage." Most of the dwellings were to consist of three rooms and a kitchenette. Besides this the industry was called upon to reconstruct public buildings, water works and transport facilities, and to carry out building contracts for agriculture and industry. Thus, 55 percent of the Plan's total investment was to be used for building purposes. Of this amount the housing program was to employ 38 percent, transport building 28 percent and industrial building 20 percent. The other 14 percent was allotted to public building and agriculture.

"Waste of Lumber"



"An apartment house under construction at the corner of Marszałkowska and Światokrzyska Streets in Warsaw, 1955. The organization of work shows backward methods and waste of lumber."

Architektura (Warsaw), No. 2, 1956

These targets were admittedly high. According to the Explanatory Memorandum, the production of bricks and other building materials was so tight that part of the construction program had to be postponed until the second year of the Plan, when the supply of materials would be greater. A "basic condition" for the realization of the targets was the addition to the labor force of some 90,000 workers, and an "essential presumption" was a 40 percent increase in average productivity.* Whether the effort would have succeeded in the manner originally intended is a matter of argument, because the "February events" of 1948 cut the experiment short at its halfway point.

The Communists argued afterward that the building program had failed during 1947. According to Antonin Zapotocky, then Premier, "fulfillment of the 1947 targets for the entire sector was only 70 percent, and in house-building only 47 percent." He blamed the failure partly on "unfavorable weather conditions, material and labor shortages, and so on" and partly on "the private enterprise element which predominates in this sector."** But the industry also fell behind in 1948 after the Communists had nationalized it. ("In view of continued difficulties, and obstacles from the former period which have not yet been fully liquidated, the maximum rate of attainment that can be anticipated for the second year of the two-year period is 70 percent of target.")***

The First Five Year Plan

WITH NATIONALIZATION, two thirds of the industry's capacity passed into the hands of the State. The nationalized enterprises were organized into territorial and specialized enterprises, numbering some 460 by 1953. At the same time, designing activities were concentrated in one large office, the *Stavoprojekt*. All State building was placed under the management of the Central Directorate of Czechoslovak Building Enterprises. The Five Year Plan (1949-1953) undertook to industrialize the building industry:

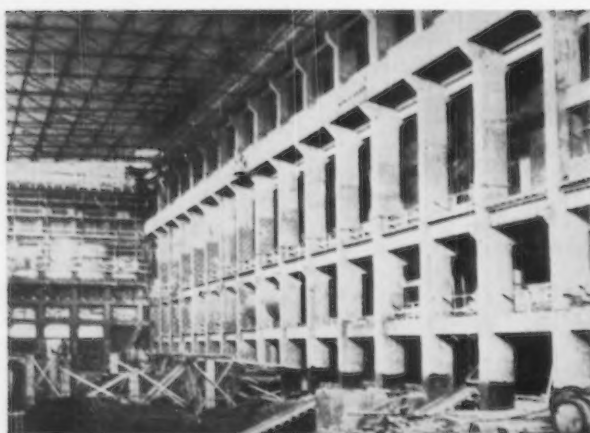
"As a result of the introduction of industrial production methods, building construction will gradually develop from its predominantly small-scale artisan enterprise into large-scale industrial production. The standard of mechanical equipment will be improved and existing mechanical equipment will be used more rationally, insuring increased productivity and reduced overhead."

The Plan resembled other Communist long-term plans in its emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry. The role of the building industry was significant: slightly more than half of the total investment under the Plan was to go for building projects of one kind or another. Building activity was to expand by 130 percent, with the State sec-

* *The First Czechoslovak Economic Plan*, Prague, April 1947, p. 57.

** *The First Czechoslovak Economic Five Year Plan*, Prague, July 1949, p. 14. The Premier exaggerated somewhat. According to the information on page 122 of the source, the housing target was 58 percent fulfilled rather than 47.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 122.



A new thermal power station under construction at Poříčí near Trutnov at the foot of Krkonoše Mountains to supply Hradec Králové Region.

Picture and caption from *Czechoslovak Life* (Prague), Sept. 1956.

tor accounting for 80 percent of the total by 1953. The number of construction workers was to increase by 50 percent, and productivity per worker by 53 percent. The total expenditure on building projects, 177 billion *koruny*, was allocated as follows: industry and handicrafts, 44.6 billion; agriculture, 11.8; building, 0.7; transport, 23.1; commerce and tourism, 1.9; house-building, 39.3; social, health, cultural, 14.4; roads, bridges and other, 41.1. The Plan did not specify how much new housing was to be built except to say that "9.7 million square meters of additional living space is to be provided . . . both in newly erected and in reconstructed houses."

However, in 1951, when the pace of industrialization was stepped up throughout Stalin's empire under the stress of the Korean War, the Plan was radically revised. The target for industrial output was raised 26 percent; for investment 19 percent; and for investment in heavy industry 74 percent. At the same time the centralized administration of the building industry was abolished and segments were taken over by various Ministries, apparently to spur the development of heavy industry.

New Course

AFTER STALIN's death in 1953 a new shift occurred in Communist economic policy. It was generally acknowledged that industrial development had been proceeding too fast and that it was time to pay more attention to the improvement of living standards. In his speech announcing the new program, Premier Siroky admitted that the housing program had been "badly underfulfilled" (*Rude Pravo*, September 16, 1953). According to the United Nations only 73 percent of the housing target was actually achieved during the Five Year Plan, and a quarter of this was private building on a "self-help" basis (*Economic Survey of Europe in 1954*, p. 53). The newspaper *Nova Svoboda* (Ostrava), February 2, 1954, stated that

the number of dwelling units built by State enterprises had been as follows:

1949	19,576
1950	21,138
1951	22,324
1952	30,350
1953	30,000

"In addition," said the paper, "several thousand family houses were built, mostly through self-help."* Because of the "entirely insufficient" rate of dwelling construction, said Siroky, investment in housing would be stepped up during the last quarter of 1953. "The building industry must devote much more attention to the quality of apartment construction and gradually liquidate the present shortage of apartments." In 1954, he promised, the State would complete at least 40,000 new dwelling units. Private individuals, assisted by the State, would build another 10,000 units in 1954.

But the effort to shift building activity toward the consumer took longer than Siroky had hoped. In 1954 the State built only 27,793 apartment units, considerably fewer than it had the year before, while private building raised the total to 38,193. The plan for 1955, which called for an increase over the previous year of about a third, was more successful: the State finished 35,233 units and the total came to 50,591 (*Statistické Zpravy*).

* According to the new statistical bulletin *Statistické Zpravy* (Prague), No. 1, 1956, the State built 29,657 units in 1953 out of a total of 38,957.



Building an apartment house from prefabricated parts. The view shows two two-room apartments and one three-room apartment.

Tschechoslowakei (Prague), No. 5, 1956



Building by pre-fab. parts is well established. Co-op farmers at Sakvice built this pre-cast house for 250 hens in one day. Picture and caption from *Czechoslovak Life* (Prague), Sept. 1956.

The Second Five Year Plan

HOUSING is given renewed importance in the present Five Year Plan (1956-1960). The goal for the five years is 250,000 apartment units from State building and 50,000 family houses built privately with State credits. Speaking to the Party Conference in June, Premier Siroky observed that this would mean increasing the rate of housing construction about 50 percent over that of 1955 (*Rude Pravo*, June 13, 1956). He asserted that the regime was "fully aware of the housing shortage" and would like to approach the problem with "greater speed," but that the program was limited by the capacity of the building industry and by shortages of certain building materials, including flooring, sanitary fittings and electrical equipment.

For the building industry as a whole, the Plan stresses increased efficiency. Two thirds of the expected increase in volume is to come from higher output per worker, to be attained by more mechanization at the building site and by the use of prefabrication and assembly line methods. These and other aspects of the present Plan are discussed in more detail below.

The Housing Balance

So far the Communists have failed to make up the war-generated lag in housing standards. On the contrary, average living conditions seem to have deteriorated. This is clearly true of Prague. An article in *Prace*, March 30, 1956, titled "Why there is a Shortage of Apartments in Prague," stated that the yearly demand for new apartments far exceeded the rate of new building. It estimated that 120,000 apartments were overcrowded—without defining the term—and said that 11,000 people were living in "emergency settlements." The Army newspaper *Obrana*

Lidu, January 8, 1956, referring to Prague's overcrowded schools, said that the number of schoolchildren had increased 60 percent since 1948 while the number of classrooms had increased only 15 percent. Conditions for the nation as a whole are difficult to gauge, but a United Nations study estimated that Czechoslovakia required 60,000 new dwellings per year in order to maintain its 1950 standard of housing (*The European Housing Situation*, 1956, p. 11). Actual building in recent years has been much less than this. According to *Rude Pravo*, August 26, 1956, a total of 286,912 apartment units were built during the years 1948-1955, giving a yearly average of 35,864. In 1956 the number of dwellings built was still below 50,000.

In December 1956 the National Assembly approved a new housing law that enables municipal governments to tax dwelling units that are above average in size and to evict the occupants of "excessively large" dwellings. The law sets a standard of 12 square meters of living space per occupant (equivalent to a room 10 feet by 13 feet) plus an additional 6 square meters for each family dwelling. According to *Rude Pravo*, January 25, 1957, this standard represents the average living space currently available. Occupants who have more than twice the standard amount of space may be evicted after June 1957, provided the local authorities furnish them with an adequate substitute.

Manpower

Since 1953 the building industry, like the rest of the economy, has been spavined by a shortage of manpower.



Assembling prefabricated flooring units.

Tschechoslowakei (Prague), No. 5, 1956

The Housing Problem

On January 26, 1956, Radio Warsaw broadcast this reply to a listener's query. It shows how, long before Poznan, the Polish regime was forced to defend itself against public resentment at the housing shortage and the abuses of privilege.

"... The housing problem is indeed a very painful one for many people in Poland because the situation really looks exactly as you picture it: there is a great shortage of houses. Why? Let's look at a few figures. About three million rooms were destroyed in the war. This was a great, irreparable loss. What have we done about it since 1945? During the Six Year Plan we built 750,000 new rooms. However, since during this time a certain number of old rooms were destroyed or had to be pulled down, the increase amounted actually to about 700,000 new rooms. Seven hundred thousand new rooms are not a small thing. They mean that we made a great effort . . . to secure better housing for about a million people. However, we know that this is still not enough, and that many thousand people are still waiting for new apartments.

"You see, these are difficult and painful matters, but they have to be thoroughly understood. Our experience, as well as foresight, tell us that we have to build houses in order to improve the living conditions of our people. At the same time, however, we must not forget that, in the interest of the same people, we have to build factories, foundries, hospitals and schools. . . . Someone may ask: why not build more houses and at the same time spend money for other important purposes? That is impossible. We not only have too little money for it, but also not enough materials: bricks, cement, iron and lumber. . . .

"Does this mean that the money and materials allocated for housing under the Six Year Plan were used as they ought to have been? Unfortunately, they were not. We were hindered by wastefulness, prodigality and squandering of State funds. It is true that building costs increased unnecessarily, that bricks and cement were wasted, that money and people's work were wasted. We are entitled to demand that those errors not be repeated, that building costs be lower and the quality of building better, that wastefulness be eliminated and those guilty of it severely punished. . . . However, wastefulness is not all that counts. In many cases hundreds of thousands of *zloty* have been spent unnecessarily on ornamentation, columns and—as you write—on marble and mirrors. . . .

"One more question. You write as follows: 'In order to be able to expect something from the nation, it is necessary first to give something to it. Yet, apartments are allocated by priority to directors and military men as though they were made of different stuff than we, the workers.' As we have already stated, there is still a shortage of apartments. Now, think a moment: for example, a factory employing a thousand people obtains ten apartments for its employees. Would it be right not to give an apartment to the factory's director? He is responsible for fulfilling the Plan, much depends upon his initiative, his peace of mind,

his working conditions. Wouldn't it be right to give him, in the first place, good working conditions? It would. Yet, you write about this matter as though directors were enemies and parasites. Today, two-thirds of our directors are sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Directors perform very responsible work, and for this reason we try to give them better working and housing conditions.

"Now, let's consider the question of allocating apartments to military men. We take care of our army and we try to create good working conditions for its commanders. There are special regulations defining the number of rooms allotted to army officers, depending upon their positions.

"Of course, in the allocation of apartments there are often cases of injustice or downright fraudulence. Apartments are sometimes given to various relatives or pals under the pretense that their work is indispensable for production. Certain people try to take advantage of their privileges. . . . Everybody knows that there are also housing offices which allot apartments for sufficiently high bribes. . . . Many of those who accepted bribes have been imprisoned, but they have been replaced by others who employ the same methods. There is one remedy. It is necessary to make the question of allocating apartments a matter accessible to public control. . . .

"One more urgent problem. It often happens that factories . . . forget about those whose housing conditions are tragic, who—as the nurse from Plock says—live in holes, damp basements and cold attics which are a mockery of all hygienic and safety regulations. We must not forget these people, we must not tolerate this state of affairs any longer. Everything must be done to give better housing conditions to residents of those inadequate lodgings. . . .

"You write: 'If I were a member of some commission, I would act differently.' We think that you and other honest people should be members of housing commissions, should take part in allocating apartments, should watch over the implementation of justice and legality, because this is indispensable. Let's take for example that apartment owner of whom you write. He, the owner of a nice apartment, told you, who live in bad conditions, that in the Communist system [of the future] all people will live well! That is a cynical answer. If that man, because of his work, was given good housing accommodations, it does not mean that he is entitled to make fools out of people whose living conditions are difficult, or that he has the right to hide his indifference towards them under a platitude about the Communist system. We don't intend to wait for Communism as if it might fall on us out of the sky. Day after day, with great effort, we are building more and more new houses. . . ."

The Five Year Plan had called for a 50 percent increase in building labor between 1948 and 1953, that is, an increase from 210,000 to 315,000 workers. The goal was almost reached in 1953, when employment totalled 306,000. Many of the new workers were drawn from agriculture. However, in the next two years the labor force declined, and average employment in 1955 was 284,000 (*Planovane Hospodarstvi* [Prague], April 15, 1956). The decline was partly the result of the government's recognition that the farm labor supply had been seriously depleted by its industrialization program, and the resulting policy, announced in 1954, of channelling workers back into agriculture. Another factor was the competition of other industries for labor. While wages for building workers have been higher than the industrial average, the differential has declined in recent years to a point where it cannot have much effect. According to *Pravda* (Bratislava), December 17, 1956, the differential declined from more than 13 percent in 1950 to less than 6 in 1955:

	1950	1955
Monthly average in industry . . .	878 Kcs.	1,252 Kcs.
Monthly average in construction	998	1,325

The turnover of building labor is very high. In the years 1953-1955 285,000 workers joined the industry while 308,000 left it (*Prace*, March 26, 1956). The organizations of the Ministry of Construction, which are predominantly concerned with investment projects, have been harder hit than those in other areas. The new incentives given to agriculture after 1953 have induced many workers who came to urban centers from the countryside to return there. Some of them take building jobs under the Ministry of Local Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture or the Central Union of Production Cooperatives. Building employment in these departments expanded by 19,000 workers in 1953-1955, while the Ministry of Construction lost 39,000 employees in the same period. This occurred despite a substantial wage difference favoring the latter; average monthly wages of bricklayers and carpenters were as follows in the second quarter of 1954 (in *koruny*)*

	Bricklayers	Carpenters
Ministry of Construction	1483	1643
Ministry of Local Economy	1373	1412
Ministry of Agriculture	1326	1440
Central Union of Production Cooperatives	1430	1577

Recent efforts to overcome the national labor shortage have included campaigns to recruit more women workers, in building as well as in other industries. At the end of 1955 women comprised 10 percent of the labor force in construction (*Statisticky Obzor* [Prague], June 23, 1956). According to *Rude Pravo*, March 19, 1956, the number of women workers was to increase by 6,700 in 1956. At the workers' settlement of Stalingrad in Zdar, women were employed to lay cement foundations, build interior walls and install insulation. But they also dug sewers and graded earth (*Jiskra* [Jihlava], June 12, 1956). In principle women are supposed to receive the same wages as men for

equal work, but at least one woman from the building industry has complained that in her experience women receive only 80 percent of a man's wage (*Prace*, July 4, 1956, reporting on a national conference of women).

The shortage of labor has great significance for Communist economic planning, for the growth of production can no longer be assured by mobilizing additional workers. Future gains will have to come from higher productivity. The First Five Year Plan called for an increase of 53 percent in gross output per worker in construction, and the Second Five Year Plan sets another 53 percent. The volume of construction during the Second Five Year Plan is to increase by more than 70 percent, with only a 20 percent increase in manpower. The regime tries to raise productivity by various measures: more mechanization in building operations (still low by Western standards), the use of prefabricated parts (see below) and a better organization of work on the building site.

The industry has borrowed from the Soviet Union its so-called "assembly line method" in construction. Under this system the work force is divided in squads which move from one room or building to another, repeating the same operations. The system does not seem to differ essentially from large-scale building operations in the West except for its emphasis on competition between squads. However, the Communists give it great emphasis. An article in *Zivot Strany* (Prague), No. 21, November 1955, said:

"Thus, a block of 40 apartments in Dukla, near Pardubice, or in Brno-Kralovo Pole, or in Dolni Benesov, and in other places where this method was used, took from six to eight months to build, as against 13 months by the old method. The assembly line method also solves the problem of manpower shortage, because 500 workers can thus build 750 [apartment] units a year. Moreover, it makes it possible to employ about 40 percent women. . . ."

The method is to be applied to 80 percent of the apartments built during the Second Five Year Plan.

Prefabrication

Another innovation borrowed from the Soviet Union is the use of factory-made parts to replace lumber and bricks. This began as early as the Two Year Plan (1947-1948), which stated that "the use of standardized products" would be made "obligatory." The First Five Year Plan put great emphasis on the use of standardized parts, "particularly mass-produced prefabricated reinforced concrete structural sections." The production of these items was to reach, by 1953, a level of 1.3 million tons.

Aside from the general economies that might be gained from such techniques, the planners also wanted to save scarce materials, especially timber and steel. Czechoslovakia's forests, like those of Poland, were dwindling faster than they were being replaced. The war and the German occupation had made serious incursions on them. The targets for timber production were—unlike those in other industries—to decline by 12 percent during the Five Year Plan. To meet this diminished output, the building industry was instructed to consume, on the average, 40 percent less timber by 1953.

* *Planovane Hospodarstvi* (Prague), April 15, 1956, p. 184.

Production of Building Materials

	Poland					Czechoslovakia						
	1949	1953	1955 (Plan)	1955 (Actual)	1960 (Plan)	1937	1948	1953 (Plan)	1953 (Rev. Plan)	1953 (Actual)	1955	1960 (Plan)
Cement (thousand tons)	2,344	3,294	4,688	3,813	6,750	1,273	1,658	2,6—	3,4—	2,320	2,892	4,520
Bricks (million)	1,141	2,206	4,233	2,564	3,990	836	924	1,3—	n.a.	1,212	1,475	2,724
Lime (thousand tons)	868	1,168	1,683	1,342	n.a.	885	924	1,3—	1,3—	1,144	1,538	2,256
Plate Glass (million sq. meters)	10.7	n.a.	n.a.	16.1	n.a.	n.a.	15.5	n.a.	n.a.	17.4	21.0	26.5

Poland: Plan figures for 1955 from *Plan Szescioletni*, Warsaw, 1950; plan figures for 1960 from Draft Directives presented to the Seventh Party Plenum in July 1956; other figures from *Rocznik Statystyczny*, Warsaw, 1956.

Czechoslovakia: Plan figures for 1953 from United Nations, *Economic Survey of Europe in 1954*, Geneva, 1955; plan figures for 1960 from *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 17, 1956; other figures from *Statistické Zpravy* (Prague), 1956.

"This saving is to be attained through the introduction and full development of prefabricated, reinforced concrete, assembly parts replacing timber floor structures and thus obviating the use of 600,000 cubic meters of structural timber; additional savings will be made by the employment of tubular assemblies instead of wooden scaffolding, and by the widest possible employment of standardized forms in reinforced concrete construction."

During the First Five Year Plan prefabrication was confined to a few basic elements such as floors and walls. These parts were delivered in bulk to the construction site and hoisted into place by cranes. Great savings were claimed for the new technique. "The use of these building materials saves 9.7 percent of the steel, 13.6 percent of the concrete and 34 percent of the lime normally required, and makes the use of bricks . . . unnecessary. Building time is reduced by 37 percent and may be shortened still further, and the number of workers employed is reduced by 65 percent" (*Zivot Strany*, November 1955). In Gottwaldov a building with 40 apartments was erected by this method in five months.

But prefabrication is still in its early stages; according to a former Deputy Minister of Building it "has great technical shortcomings and is very expensive" (*Pozemni Stavby* [Prague], May 10, 1955). During the Second Five Year Plan the method is to be extended and improved, and a greater variety of parts produced. By 1960, according to the Plan, the proportion of apartment units built with prefabricated beams and panels is to be 35 or 40 percent of the total, while perhaps 13 percent will be completely prefabricated. The government also hopes to begin mass

production of small prefabricated houses, cottages and garages.

The Institute for Industrialization of Building is said to be working on six new types of prefabricated panels for apartment houses. These provide balconies and built-in plumbing and wiring (*Rude Pravo*, January 20, 1957). Production of prefabricated cottages has already begun on a limited scale: one-room cottages sell for 7,000 *koruny*, three-room cottages for 12,000 *koruny*. They are made of wood—a factor which limits their production—and have seven-foot ceilings (*Svobodne Slovo*, August 2, 1956).

The Pattern

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND illustrate in different ways the effects of Soviet economic policy. Poland was forced into the Stalinist mold before it had recovered from the war, and its industrial building during the Six Year Plan was accomplished at the price of a continuing crisis in housing. A Warsaw paper recently estimated that even if the housing program now under way is successful, it will not be sufficient to offset the neglect of previous years (*Zycie Warszawy*, quoted by Radio Warsaw on December 7). But even in Czechoslovakia, economically the most fortunate of the Satellites, a rigorous imitation of the Soviet model has been accompanied by a decline in standards of housing. One of the Communist arguments for nationalizing the building industry was that private enterprise could not be relied upon to carry out economic plans, but until recently the Satellite regimes have shown little regard for the social consequences of their own failures.



"An Open Letter to the Devil Who Never Sleeps"

This article by Jan Kalina is a review of a new Slovak motion picture, "The Devil Never Sleeps." It appeared in Kulturny Zivot (Bratislava), the journal of the Slovak Writers' Union, on March 2. Its sarcasm toward heretofore sacrosanct shibboleths of Communist criticism and culture aroused much attention in Czechoslovakia, where such manifestations of the spirit of the thaw are currently infrequent.



Scene from "The Devil Never Sleeps."

Kulturny Zivot (Bratislava), March 2, 1957

Well, you have pulled a fast one! . . . We went to see you in the movie, expecting to spend an evening building Socialism. In these days of unbridled hilarity, when even public dances lack the appropriate ideological spirit, . . . it is doubly important that our Slovak movie production remain faithful to the spirit of its traditions—i.e., to the cross-re-evaluation of the achieved indicators and to the building of perspectives for tomorrow. And our movie production has successfully fulfilled this mission, especially in recent times, through pictures of such great ideological and artistic dynamism that some of them could not even be shown.

To the devil with you. You immediately caused panic and indignation, beginning with your production credits—

disrespectful and frivolous credits. We read and read. The names were all new and unknown. It certainly did not show much respect for tradition to entrust the film recklessly to not just one but two new directors (who are Peter Solan and Frantisek Zacek?) and to a cameraman who is even more of a beginner (a certain Jesin), and to give the score to a musician who does not even belong to the motion picture clique (a certain Milan Novak). You completed this contempt for tradition by employing actors of whom only one is a State prize winner (and good to boot), while the others had little or moderate experience, or were completely unknown (for example, that young girl who dared to look so beautiful)!

But the devil's work only becomes apparent if you assume

that this group of suspicious individuals (aided, alas, by seasoned film-makers Nitra and Tallo—mark them well!) have chosen a serious and constructive subject, such as the necessity for increased vigilance in this phase of Socialism. The title "The Devil Never Sleeps" would lead you to think so. But you would be greatly mistaken. This clique of obvious deviationists . . . was not the least concerned with demonstrating the unbreakable alliance between workers, kolkhoz members and the enlightened intelligentsia, but instead with satirizing everything that is still negative in our country. According to this film, all kinds of things are still negative. . . .

This diabolical work might never have occurred except for the satirical stories of Peter Karvas, which this group—instead of distorting as has been customary—shrewdly elaborated, dramatizing them and setting them in a framework, giving the whole thing a doubtful orientation. Of course, this happened only because the inexperienced producers allowed the writer, the original author, to stick his nose into the preparation of the scenario. . . .

The devil, you say to yourself, this film contains a number of very daring and heretical ideas (some of them even make you think), and one is rightly seized by the disquieting suspicion that you producers have circumvented the censors . . . and sneaked the film into the theater without permission. How else can it be, since not everything in the film is handed to one with a spoon and in some instances things are so cleverly masked that an ordinary, dogmatic person wouldn't know what to make of them.

At first it appears to make blasphemous fun of a factory director, thus committing the sin of sneering at a representative of the people in a country which is building a more beautiful tomorrow. Suddenly it turns out that the satire is not aimed at him but at the beverage industry—devilish jokers.

Then—the devil take it—is it really permissible to make such godless fun of our press, as you have done through that poor devil Strich, when we know that the level of many newspapers is rising at an unfaltering tempo? And isn't it bad manners to laugh at industrious kolkhoz members merely because, being in the avant-garde of their district, they are buying cars and television sets? And what kind of a joke is it to make fun of a model worker who,

at the end of his day's labor, enjoys the fruits of his work in a happy home, surrounded by lots of consumer goods, children and literature (that unbeatable weapon for evening study)? Why must you ridicule this, haven't we been convinced in the past seven or eight years by the newsreels that it is exactly like that? Well, then. I won't even mention the disrespect shown toward Party officials, or the picture of the drunken worker gravely discrediting our construction achievements before the class enemy and the Western imperialists.

Here the question arises: whom do we serve by such a film? What the devil are we aiming at? The danger arises that if the subjects of your future films should be somewhat less literary, the dialogue sharper and the direction firmer, then the Slovak film might lose its present national form and become—God prevent—more European! Where did you leave the banalities and where did you throw the naturalism, which a Slovak comedy could not have done without in the past? Why aren't there any "krpce" [mountaineer's boots], "brindza [domestic cheese] or "valaska" [small mountaineer's axe] in this film . . . ? This is obviously no accident. This one-sided orientation toward the city makes one believe that the makers of the film have *intentionally* avoided the village. Well, well, goddamn it, can you throw away the traditional props of our cinema without punishment?

Briefly, comrade devil, you have disappointed us. We expected to see a dignified sequel to the Slovak film comedy "Certova Stena" (Devil's Wall). On a higher stage of schematism of course (ten years later)—i.e., neoschematism. . . .

Maybe there will be some people who like this film. . . . But they will be only those who are full of contempt for national values, who are intoxicated by the Bratislava spring, and have thus not properly assessed the value of "Zeny z vrchov", "Previerka lasky", "Adam" and "Ciste ruky" [previous Slovak films]. That is, they will be evil-wishers and critics who are cynically demanding, under the cloak of the Twentieth Congress, that the Slovak film actually become artistic.

In the name of bedeviled dullards, dogmatists and positive heroes; in the name of Party officials and newspapermen; in the name of everybody except myself. . . . A Devil of A Success!



Current Developments

Area

Traffic in Delegations

During April and May the Satellites busied themselves in adding further cement to the cracked facade of the Soviet bloc. A Polish delegation headed by Premier Cyrankiewicz went to Prague on May 2. A joint declaration signed on May 7 announced that the two governments were in agreement on matters of foreign policy and ideology. It affirmed their support of the Kadar regime in Hungary, but refrained from mentioning the delicate issue of Soviet intervention. The delegations apparently compromised on the disputed question of "roads to Socialism" by saying that "it is necessary to combat the distortions of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and to resist at the same time different manifestations of dogmatism and revisionism." The declaration established a Polish-Czechoslovak economic committee to facilitate cooperation in agriculture and industry. Czechoslovakia agreed to assist Poland in developing Poland's sulfur deposits and also in the expansion of Polish coal mining (Radio Warsaw, May 8).

East Berlin was the center of much activity. A Romanian Party and government delegation conferred with their East German counterparts in late April and issued a joint declaration (see p. 58). A Bulgarian Assembly delegation visited there earlier in the month. And on May 11 the parliamentary leaders of East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia issued a joint declaration attacking the NATO alliance, Euratom, the Common Market and other Western policies. It recommended further strengthening of the Warsaw Pact.

Sofia was also host to various delegations. Late in April delegations from the USSR, Czechoslovakia and East Germany conferred in Sofia on the subject of economic cooperation in agriculture (see p. 60). On April 18, a Soviet parliamentary group arrived to meet with members of the Bulgarian National Assembly and make a two-week tour of the country. And an Albanian cultural delegation came on May 6. Meanwhile, Bulgarian delegations were also in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The two ends of the area were brought together on April 26 when a delegation of Polish war veterans arrived in Belgrade to "contribute to the rapprochement of our peoples."

French and Italian Communist Delegations

Delegations from the French Communist Party visited Bulgaria and Romania in April. The delegation to Bul-



Chinese regime leader Mao Tse-tung greeting Polish Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz on his arrival in Peking. Mao is shortly to visit Poland.

Swiat (Warsaw), April 21, 1957

garia, led by Etienne Fajon, talked with a Bulgarian group headed by First Party Secretary Zhivkov. The resulting joint declaration (Radio Sofia, April 15) affirmed the leadership of the CPSU and the correctness of Soviet foreign policy and attacked the policies of the West, including France's actions in Algeria. Another French delegation led by Waldeck Rochet signed a similar declaration in Bucharest after talks with a Romanian group headed by First Party Secretary Gheorghiu-Dej (Radio Bucharest, April 23). Both declarations approved Soviet intervention in Hungary and attacked the Eisenhower doctrine.

An Italian Communist Party delegation talked with Czechoslovak Party leaders in Prague from March 29 to April 1, and signed a joint declaration that was substantially identical with those of the French (Radio Prague, April 3).

Poland

Cyrankiewicz Returns From Asia

On April 20, after a five-week tour of seven Asian countries, Premier Cyrankiewicz and his delegation staged a triumphant return to Poland (see May issue, p. 34). In an address at the Warsaw airport, the Premier said that his good-will journey had produced three major results: it had contributed to Asia's understanding of Poland's "situation"; it had been a "practical expression of the principle of peaceful coexistence"; and it had allowed for an exchange of views with other "Socialist" countries, especially "People's China." Making indirect reference to China's support of the "Polish road to Socialism" during the crucial days of the Eighth Plenum last Fall, Cyrankiewicz stressed the similarity of Polish and Chinese Communist views:

"It must be said that despite great differences in the conditions in Poland and China, the two countries have many common problems and many similar features. We can thus learn a great deal from our Chinese comrades, from their experience in solving problems, from their theory and practice of overcoming difficulties and contradictions in the transitional period. . . . Our views on building Socialism are close to those of China. In our country, an expression of these views was the Eighth Plenum, and in China it was the thesis, known to our public from the press, on the blossoming of all flowers, and the thesis of two kinds of contradictions [antagonistic and non-antagonistic] in [Socialist] society, which dogmatists are not always willing to notice."* (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], April 23, 1957)

Chinese Backing Obtained

The importance of the China visit was duly noted by the Polish press. On April 21, *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw) stated that: "After the Peking declaration, in which China gives full support to Poland's policy of sovereignty and economic changes, there surely can be no doubt that the trip was appropriate and necessary. This endorsement of the October victory strengthens our country's position among Socialist nations and throughout the world." Similarly, the paper issued for Polish emigres, *7 dni w Polsce* (Warsaw), April 21, discussed the significance of Mao Tse-tung's forthcoming visit to Poland:

"The Chinese leader has several times, and in no uncertain terms, expressed his support of the changes occurring in Poland. . . . Mao's authority is tremendous and justified, and to have gained the backing of such an authority can be considered one of the most important events in Polish politics in the present period. Mao's trip will . . . be the first he has made to East-Central Europe. It is difficult . . . to make conjectures on the international aspects of [his] visit, but it will be an event of international import."

"Caution" Urged

Polityka (Warsaw), April 24-30, the organ of the "centrist" Gomulka faction, carried an article by Mieczyslaw Lesz, member of the Polish delegation to Asia, who discussed Chinese views on "Socialism." Stressing the Chinese thesis of "evolution through conflicts," Lesz pointed out that in China these conflicts were "non-antagonistic": "According to the Chinese comrades, not even the conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie in China is an antagonistic conflict. . . . One of Stalin's basic mistakes was precisely the fact that he saw antagonistic conflicts where there were none."

After implying that China upheld Poland's view of the "class struggle," Lesz pointed out that the Chinese believed in the necessity of discussion and a clash of views within the Communist Party and had conceded that misunder-

standings between the Party and the masses could arise. Lesz stated, however, that while the Chinese leadership gave support to the "Polish road to Socialism," they expected the Poles to exercise caution and to preserve an appearance of unity in the Communist movement:

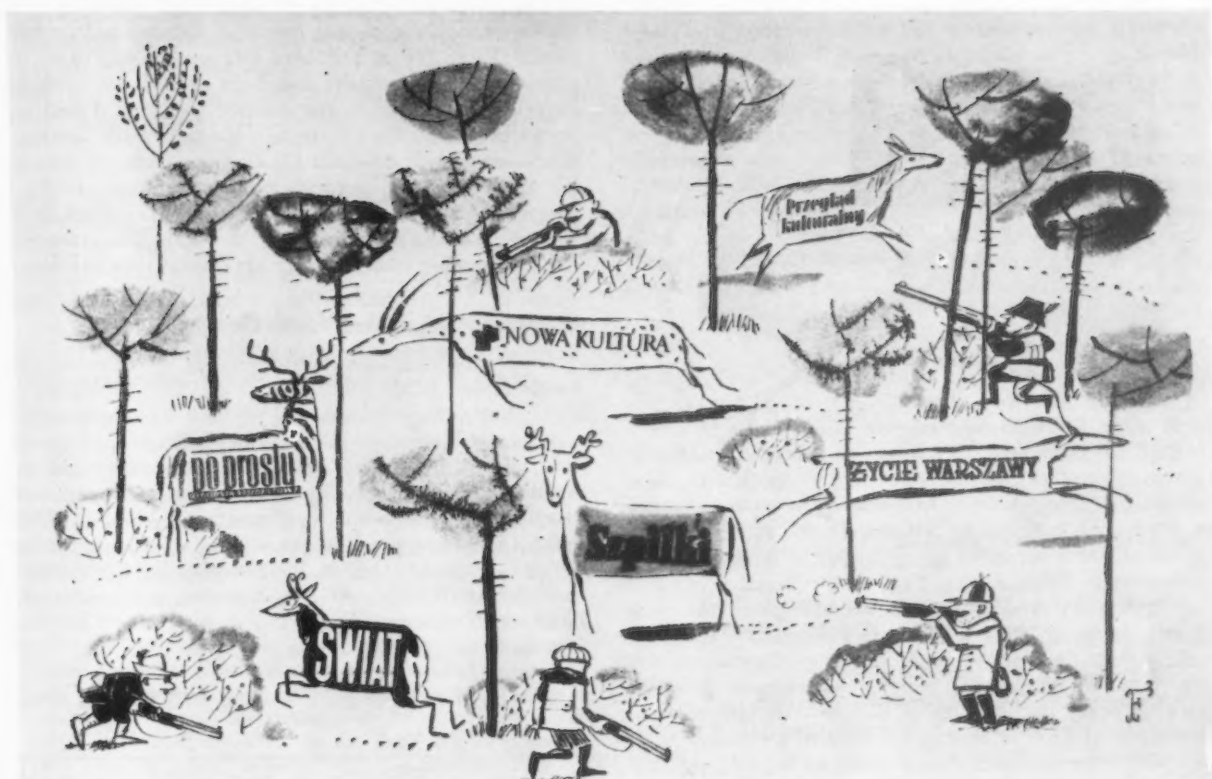
"The Chinese comrades think that discussion in the workers' movement is indispensable. . . . Discussions, however, need not necessarily be public and not every topic must necessarily be discussed publicly, for instance, in the press of our countries. Sometimes it is better and more conducive to the good of the cause if discussion is carried out between the Parties by internal inter-Party channels. In public statements, that which is common and fundamental [to all Communist Parties] ought to be emphasized. That is why the Chinese comrades set such store by the joint declaration . . . of our Party and the Communist Party of France." (See March issue, p. 40.)

Many of the press commentaries on Cyrankiewicz' trip were directed against critics at home who had attacked the journey as a superfluous expenditure. These attacks probably originated among members of the Natolin or "Stalinist" group who feared that the tour, and particularly the visit to China, represented a weakening of Soviet influence on Poland. For instance, *7 dni w Polsce*, April 21, referred to suspicions regarding Polish-Chinese agreements on exchanging ideological, literary and scientific information: "We have no such agreements with any other Socialist country and therefore the discussions now in progress are regarded with some distrust [in certain quarters]." *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), April 4-10, spoke more directly. "It is no secret," the weekly said, "that various ignorant demagogues are criticizing the trip. . . . But for us it is a political act of the highest order. . . . In ten years' time nothing of importance will occur in the world without the direct or indirect participation of China, India, and other Asian nations."

Stopover in Moscow

Bolstered by his talks with the Chinese leaders, Cyrankiewicz made a one-day stopover in Moscow on April 19, where he attended a reception at the Polish Embassy along with top Soviet leaders. The visit coincided with the 12th anniversary of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Pact, and both Cyrankiewicz and Khrushchev delivered speeches to commemorate the event. After reviewing his trip to Asia, Cyrankiewicz cautiously turned to the subject of Polish-Soviet relations. He remarked that the Polish-Soviet Friendship Pact not only had stood the "test of experience" but had been strengthened by the Soviet declaration of October 30, 1956, on relations between "Socialist" countries, by the Polish-Soviet declaration of November 1956, and by the present practice of developing friendship on "healthy principles." All this, Cyrankiewicz said, "permits us to predict the best possible future for our friendship. We are very pleased not only because [this conforms to] the interests of building Socialism in Poland . . . and securing our independence, [but also] because it is in the interest of the solidarity of all Socialist States." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], April 23.)

* The antagonistic contradictions are those "between the people and the enemy"—i.e., reaction, capitalism, counterrevolution. The non-antagonistic contradictions are those between the "progressive social system and the backward forces of production, between right and wrong opinions resulting from different traditions in thought, between current interests and long-range interests and between the interests of a citizen and the interests of society." From an article entitled "Chinese Discussions," *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 6. See box, page 42.



"Once again, the hunting season has begun." (The animals are labelled with the names of Polish periodicals that have been most critical of past and present Communist practices; the reference is to attacks on these periodicals by the Party press.)

Szpilki (Warsaw), April 28, 1957

The speech delivered by Khrushchev was even more ambiguous. The Soviet leader stated that it was "particularly pleasant" to note that Cyrankiewicz had stressed the "necessity of solidarity between Socialist countries. We have no doubt that this is the way things should be. Socialist countries will [continue to do] everything to strengthen friendly relations." Referring to certain rough spots in Polish-Soviet relations which the opponents of Communism had wished to exploit, Khrushchev indicated Soviet disapproval of Polish negotiations with the West:

"Poland is now being wooed as if she were a girl of marriageable age. Why? Because [our enemies] hope that 'perhaps something will come of this.' They want to find in Poland forces which can be used against the people's rule and the construction of Socialism in Poland, and against the Soviet Union. The biggest blows are aimed at the Soviet Union because it was the first country in the world which began the revolutionary struggle against capitalism."

In the latter part of his address Khrushchev clearly indicated that the US loan to Poland was not to the USSR's taste. Referring to the fact that he and Cyrankiewicz had discussed the question of "equal relations," Khrushchev said that relations among "Socialist" countries consisted of more than "mere equality":

"Recently, we had talks with the Albanians and helped them to consolidate [their] Socialist economy. Would that aid have been given had we been guided only by principles of equality? What is important is mutual friendship and assistance. It is broader, deeper and fuller than mere equality. We are in favor of such relations with Poland and with all Socialist countries. We do not want them to find themselves in bondage to capitalist countries."

"Liberal" Editors Dismissed

More heads fell as the Gomulka regime stepped up its campaign against "revisionism" and attempted to bring the unruly press into line. The victims were liberal elements within the Party who lately have been the target of sharp attacks by Polish and Soviet leaders. On May 8, Edda Werfel, an outspoken anti-Stalinist who aided Gomulka's return to power last October, was dismissed as assistant editor of the illustrated Warsaw weekly *Świat*. Mrs. Werfel's removal was made the subject of a special resolution by the Party CC Secretariat, which condemned her for opposing Party policy. Although she will be allowed to continue in journalism, Mrs. Werfel will not be permitted to hold any responsible post.

Mrs. Werfel provoked a heated controversy last November in an article accusing other Communist Parties of de-

liberately misrepresenting the October events in Poland. Hermann Axen, editor of the East German Communist daily *Neues Deutschland*, denounced Mrs. Werfel's statement that Polish Communists were fighting for "human Socialism." Axen called this a "bourgeois reactionary expression" and said that Mrs. Werfel was a renegade seeking to liquidate Communism. The Soviet ideological monthly *Kommunist* recently printed a similar attack on the article, in which Mrs. Werfel wrote, among other things, that Communists had to ask themselves whether they wanted "only to preserve power or to preserve Socialism."

Lasota "Resigns"

Poprostu (Warsaw), April 21, announced the resignation of its editor-in-chief Eligiusz Lasota, who had been elected to Parliament in January as one of the foremost representatives of the Party's liberal wing. Lasota, who allegedly resigned in order to devote his energies to "active writing," was replaced by Ryszard Turski, another liberal, previously assistant editor of the weekly. Although Turski's appointment indicates that *Poprostu's* editorial policy will not necessarily undergo substantial change in the near future, it seems likely that Lasota's resignation was connected with the anti-revisionist campaign. Lasota recently was attacked by the East German Communist press for "indiscretions" during a recent visit to West Germany. In the April 21 issue of *Poprostu* he denied these charges in an open letter to *Neues Deutschland*; so far, however, the East German daily has failed to reprint it.

In his letter Lasota denied the accusation that he had described his impression of the trip in an interview on the West German radio. "However," he said, "does this mean that journalists from the Socialist press have no right to broadcast on foreign capitalist radio stations? Is this perhaps . . . a new concept of coexistence and relaxation in international relations?" Lasota said that he had been invited to give a television talk on the recent changes in Poland:

"I gave this talk. At that time I thought, and I still think, that it was a positive achievement that Polish journalists were enabled to speak about Poland directly to [West German] citizens. In my talk, I spoke chiefly about Poland and Yugoslavia. Remarks about the GDR were marginal and to call them an 'unrestrained campaign against the GDR' [is not correct]."

Natolin Group Pressure

While Gomulka has attempted to keep the press to a moderate course, he has been troubled not only by liberals but also by members of the Stalinist Natolin group, who have tried to impose their "conservative" policy on Party newspapers. At an April 13 meeting of the Warsaw Provincial Party Committee which is still headed by "Stalinists" (as is the Rzeszow Provincial Committee), the editorial staff of *Trybuna Mazowiecka* was forced to resign. The paper was defended by Zenon Kliszko, head of the Party CC organizational department and a friend of Go-

mulka, who claimed that criticism directed at the provincial Party organ had been vague. He said that the articles which supposedly had been at variance with the Party's political line in the post-October period had not been specified by the Committee. His statements, however, were disregarded; on April 17, *Trybuna Ludu* condemned the Committee for "perpetrating harmful deeds under a screen of words about the Eighth Plenum." *Trybuna Ludu* objected specifically to attempts "to decide the duties of a Party newspaper from dogmatically conservative positions."

Gomulka Admonishes Youth Congress

At the first constitutional Congress of the new Socialist Youth Union (ZMS; successor to the ZMP), held April 25-27, Party chief Gomulka called upon the organization's members to submit to Communist leadership, to renew their faith in "Socialism" and to stop grumbling and demanding independence. The Polish leader's speech was calculated to suppress the dissension reigning in ZMS ranks, and among youth in general, and to prevent further criticism from Moscow of the chaotic, "un-Communist" character of Polish youth organizations, particularly the ZMS which, though designed to replace the old ZMP, has won little support from young people. (See May 1957 issue, pp. 32-33.)

Speaking bluntly, Gomulka told his audience that it was

IT HAS BEEN an unalterable tenet of "Marxist" theory that once forces of production are nationalized, the dictatorship of the proletariat established and remnants of bourgeois influence uprooted, society does not and can not have internal conflicts or "contradictions." Such conflicts and contradictions, the theory ran, are possible (indeed, inevitable) only in forms of society less perfect than the Communist. So ran the theory.

Recently, however, Chinese Communists have been blandly admitting that this is simply not so in China, and forcing their Soviet comrades to admit the same about the USSR. They have admitted the previously unthinkable possibility of conflict between the people and their bureaucratic rulers. The Chinese Party newspaper *Jen Min Jih Pao* printed the following exchange between Premier Chou En-lai and the Soviet Ambassador to China, Yudin. The exchange was reprinted, significantly, in the Polish Party newspaper *Trybuna Ludu*, April 28.

Chou (pointing to a group of children): "If bureaucracy still exists in management after ten years, one has to counteract it. This is a contradiction in the community. When the class struggle is finished the contradictions become all the clearer in a nation. In our community we still have contradictions between the productive forces and relations in production, and between our economic base and the superstructure. It is also possible that under certain social circumstances a contradiction may arise between the management and the masses."

Soviet Ambassador Yudin: "We have the same contradiction in our country."

an immutable law of life that the older generation taught the younger generation. "I need to state this truth," he said, "to make you consciously aware of the right of the Party to play the role of teacher, educator and guide of its child and comrade-in-arms—for this is how the Party sees your Union and this is what it is—the Union of Socialist youth." After asserting the Party's right to teach youth "Socialism," Gomulka emphasized the necessity of class warfare. The future of the world, he said, belongs to "Socialism," but "Socialism" can only be achieved in the "struggle between the old and new. . . . This struggle is inevitable, essential and cannot be avoided. . . . If for no other reason than the fact that Socialism is the enemy of war . . . we should proclaim Socialism constantly everywhere, struggle for [it] with all our might."

Gomulka then told the meeting not to become disillusioned with "Socialism" because of errors made in the past. "A blot on Socialism," he said, "is never Socialism itself. Youth, and especially leaders of the Socialist Youth Union, must always be careful to remember that." On the other hand, Gomulka sternly warned that errors could not be removed by "revisionist brushes" but only by those means which "strengthen Socialism externally and internally":

"Errors [however] must always be paid for. Internal Party difficulties connected with the removal of sectarian and dogmatic distortions and difficulties experienced by our country in economic development have created favorable conditions for activity by all kinds of demagogues and even reactionary elements. The intensification of reactionary activity is apparent on a large scale. This includes attacks against our Party and the flood of trash and pornography in the press—these typical features of reactionary, petty bourgeois rotteness.

"Periods like the present have . . . tremendous importance in history. It is not easy to re-evaluate so many concepts and habits. At the same time, one must take care not to destroy any of the achievements of past years, not to nullify anything of a positive value. Such a danger exists both in the Party and in the ranks of youth."

Gomulka then upheld the accomplishments of the old ZMP, saying that it had created many "valuable fighters for Socialism" despite "unfavorable conditions." He said that certain ZMS members and leaders were wrong in wanting to do away with all the achievements made by the Party and the ZMP in the postwar period, and that the ZMS should emulate the ZMP in waging a fight to increase production and in encouraging labor competitions. Gomulka added that the ZMS could avoid many errors by adopting a consistent class character and by making "working class youth" the core of the organization. He warned, however, about isolation from the masses of youth. The ZMS, he said, must embrace the broad masses and other youth organizations. "To do this, the Union must become . . . an organization of action in the full sense of the word. Only deeds count. If we say that the situation in the country is difficult, we must fully realize that difficulties cannot be overcome either by high-flown slogans or by grumbling. The situation can be improved only by a



Figures are marked Director (left), and Workers' Council. Caption: "How directors in certain factories see the role they play in the workers' councils."

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), April 17, 1957

great effort on the part of the entire nation." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], April 26.)

Renke Speaks

The First Secretary of the Provisional CC of the ZMS, Marian Renke, who spoke after Gomulka, reiterated many of the same points. He said that, despite its "distortions," the ZMP had not been a "loss to youth"; that the new organization should have a "class character" and stand beside the Party; and that the only justified struggle against Stalinism was uncompromising fulfillment of the line of the Eighth Plenum—"anything outside that line constitutes a struggle against Socialism." In this respect, Renke added: "We do not want to be a loyalist organization [i.e., a Party tool]. But, on the other hand, we should not yield to everything youth demands. Being a Socialist organization, we must know which are the right postulates . . . and which are the wrong ones. . . ."

Attending the Congress were 734 delegates representing 50,000 Union members, as well as visitors from the Polish Scouts' Union, the Polish Students' Union, and the Rural Youth Union which, according to Radio Warsaw, April 23, has some 70,000 members, or 20,000 more than the Party-favored ZMS. Also present at the sessions were Politburo members Jerzy Morawski and Roman Zambrowski. After the opening speeches, the Congress discussed proposed Union statutes, elected Union leaders and drafted an ideological declaration. As broadcast by Radio Warsaw, April 27, the declaration states that the ZMS will struggle against the "hostile forces of capitalism," the attempts to rebuild the Stalinist system, and all forms of political and ideological backwardness—specifically nationalism, chauvinism and religious and racial discrimination. The declaration recognizes the leading role of the Party, and stresses that the new Union is guided by the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and "is taking over the difficult heritage of the ZMP."

The Opposition Speaks Up

Discussions during the Congress were lively and were indicative of the lack of unity within the Union and youth's rebellious attitude. *Trybuna Ludu*, April 28, reported, for instance, that several speeches were "demagogical" and produced a "cheap effect." Apparently the speakers demanded that the statutes include "formulations contradictory to our Party's attitude, particularly with regard to our recent past." Members of this opposition not only refused to whitewash the past, and specifically the old ZMP, but showed independence in proposing candidates from the floor instead of accepting the list offered by the Union Commission. The statutes were adopted with six abstentions.

The Congress elected an 85-member Central Committee, a 15-member Court of Honor and a 17-member Revision Commission. At a meeting of the new Union CC on April 28, Marian Renke was elected First Secretary, and Felicja Rapaport, Grzegorz Sokolowski and Jerzy Terej were elected CC Secretaries.

Controversy Over Workers' Councils

The Gomulka regime's difficulties in overcoming dangers

from the right and from the left were indicated in recent discussions on the role of the workers' councils. Some Party leaders have come to the defense of the councils, which have been hindered in their work by bureaucratic and "Stalinist" elements. On the other hand, the top leadership has tried to ensure Party control of the councils which, in many cases, have strongly resisted Party interference.

The tendency to resist development of the councils and of economic decentralization was the subject of a recent resolution passed by the Warsaw City Party Committee (*Zycie Warszawy* [Warsaw], April 25). Summing up the activities of the councils in the first quarter of the year, the resolution said that they had helped work out production plans, introduced changes in organization and in the wage and norm system, and strengthened worker discipline. This line of activity, the resolution said, should be maintained:

"As is known, workers' wages recently have been raised considerably in many industrial fields. However . . . this wage increase should be covered fully by [increased production of] marketable goods. An appropriate amount of goods can be obtained by putting production reserves to use. Thus, the main task of the councils . . . consists in

Polish "Liberals" Fight Back

"Nowadays people talk a lot about revisionism and its dangers. This danger is, in fact, dangerous for Socialism. However, there are two kinds of revisionism. One of them is only seemingly so, and is essentially a matter of dialectics. . . . There is another kind of revision, a real one, which means breaking away from the principles of Socialist thought and pushing it astray. . . . According to the first kind of revision, the democratic rights of citizens cannot be liquidated or even limited under any circumstances. Philosophy, science or literature cannot be curtailed on any grounds. The followers of the first kind of revision no longer believe in Orwell's slogans that "War is Peace" or "Slavery is Freedom." They think that a war is a war and slavery cannot lead to freedom, but only to more slavery. . . . Let us say frankly: the first kind of revisionism is no revisionism at all. It means Socialism, or creative unrest. The first form is the strength of our revolution. . . ."

(from *Nowa Kultura* [Warsaw], April 28.)

"The Communist ideal demands the reconstruction of the entire model of social life. It demands the liberation of humanity—and of the individual within the framework of society—from alienation in all the domains of society. The aim is to obtain the real sovereignty of the masses, to destroy the division between those who are deprived of freedom and the ruling group which is not responsible to the people. The idea of Communism, of humanism put into life, is universal. It is older than Marxism, it is the heritage of the ages. . . . The epithet 'revisionist' is being applied, recently, to those people who are by no means breaking with the conviction that the only way to free mankind from alienation and the only way to build Communism lies in

the consolidation of the people's power under the hegemony of the proletariat; although the basis of the argument may be quite different, the epithet labels these people as though they were giving up the revolutionary struggle for the Communist idea. . . .

"One knows that things which are regarded in Warsaw as truisms may be looked upon as signs of the most shocking revisionism in Rzeszow [a provincial capital]. Our whole Party has been burdened with the accusation of revisionism by certain forces within the international Communist movement. It is necessary to explain that the attitudes which should indeed be rejected as revisionistic are those which constitute a revision of outlooks which were victorious at the Eighth Plenum [in October 1956, when Gomulka assumed power] of the [Party] and which found their expression in its resolutions. . . .

"One fears that under such circumstances the accusation of revisionism of the lines worked out by the Eighth Plenum might be inflicted not exclusively on those who are re-examining the achievements of the Eighth Plenum, who want to return to the outlines rejected by the Eighth Plenum program with regard to politics, economy, etc. . . . One fears that the accusation of revisionism will be levelled at those who put forward some proposals with regard to problems not precisely stated in the Eighth Plenum resolutions. . . . Such an approach to 'revisionism,' i.e., the belief that the first document of the program of the Polish road to Socialism is final, would naturally endanger Marxist thought with stagnation and would clip the wings of the profound Communist movement expressed in the Polish experiment."

(from another article in the same issue of *Nowa Kultura*.)



A Czechoslovak publication's photo of the signing, on March 28, of the recent Soviet-Hungarian agreement. Hungarian puppet Premier Kadar and Soviet Premier Bulganin are seated; Khrushchev and Malenkov are among those standing.

Svet v Obrazech (Prague), April 13, 1957

finding these reserves and using them. . . . It is clear [however] that this cannot be done by the workers' councils alone. Active help by all economic and Party organs is necessary."

The Warsaw City Party Committee insisted that higher economic organs must stop obstructing the councils by refusing to aid them or to contribute to the process of decentralization. "Negative attitudes and passivity must not be tolerated. . . . The bureaucratic style of work of many central offices is particularly annoying to workers' councils and Party organizations. . . . Important State ordinances should not take them by surprise, as this . . . leads to difficulties." The resolution also cautioned Party members to fight rumors which attribute the "difficult situation of our [economic] enterprises in the present period . . . to the introduction of worker self-government."

On the other hand, the resolution warned that the councils themselves were not free from the danger of bureaucracy and advised them to maintain close contacts with the workers. It also urged Party organizations to help the councils and to work out proposals for their further development. In addition, the Warsaw City Committee called for "organized" discussions on methods of arriving at a new "economic model" based on the principles of centralized basic planning and maximum worker participation in economic management. To increase decentralization, the Committee proposed new cuts and mergers in the central administration. "Small enterprises producing articles of general use," the Committee added, "should be administered by the [local] national councils."

From the above resolution it appears that the government is relying on the joint cooperation of the workers' councils and the national councils to effect decentralization. At present, there are some 116 workers' councils in War-

saw: 50 in key industries, 31 in construction enterprises, and 11 in urban public services. According to *Sztandar Mlodych*, April 14, Party members comprise 29 percent of the councils' membership and workers 50 percent. Technicians and workers in the engineering industry form 78 percent of the total membership.

Drive to End "Speculation"

In April, the government embarked on a drive to liquidate the country's flourishing black market. This effort followed bitter official criticisms of illegal trade practices, which have become widespread in the past year as measures to increase wages and expand private trade were not accompanied by corresponding increases in the supply of goods and raw materials. On April 10, Deputy Minister of State Control Irena Strzelecka announced that a special commission had been appointed to work out methods of preventing speculation, particularly the practice of buying up scarce commodities in "Socialized" stores and reselling them at inflated prices elsewhere. During 1956, Minister Strzelecka said, the courts handled 22,308 cases of profiteering, and in the first quarter of 1957, the total was as high as 6,000. The Minister attributed profiteering to: the availability of cash and the great demand for goods in short supply; the inadequate supply of goods to the increased private trade network; raw material shortages in the extended network of craftsmen's shops—a situation which has led to "the interception of goods by bribery"; and a relaxation in the "struggle against black market activities" (Radio Warsaw, April 10).

The government attempted to intensify this struggle by strengthening a 1953 decree on profiteering. The amended decree, suggested by the Ministries of State Control and

Internal Trade, makes it a criminal offense to: "corner articles in Socialized trade for the purpose of profit; to sell articles originally bought in the retail trade network at prices above State prices; to sell articles above fixed State prices in shops; and to purchase and hoard articles in excessive amounts for profiteering" (Radio Warsaw, April 13).

In addition to these measures, the Ministry of Internal Trade authorized a check of trade employees: "Employees who have been sentenced for commercial abuses [in the past] and who have inadequate professional or moral qualifications will be dismissed." Speculation by members of the private trade network will be punished by withdrawal of licenses. The Ministry also proposed that the powers of the State Trade Inspectorate be expanded so that it can conduct investigations of commercial abuses (Radio Warsaw, April 16).

The government also condemned the lenient treatment accorded profiteers by the courts and national councils. For example, on April 15 Radio Warsaw complained: "The citizens of Szczecin have written many letters to the press and radio in which they report widespread bribery and profiteering. However, the Office of the Public Prosecutor in Szczecin ignores many cases because it considers them to be trifling."

A conference on speculation was held at the Provincial Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw on April 17. According to Radio Warsaw, the participants urged the militia to delegate specially-trained personnel to uncover black market centers: "Several important investigations in Warsaw are already being carried out."

Remaining Farm Collectives Helped

As of May 7, there were 2,200 collective farms in the country, according to Radio Warsaw. On the basis of this information, it would appear that 38 new collectives were formed since March 15, when the total was given as 2,162—a figure representing an 80 percent decline from June 30, 1956 (*Zielony Sztandar* [Warsaw], April 14). Radio Warsaw, May 7, stated, however, that "precise information" was available on only 1,549 collectives, which allegedly embrace 266,275 hectares and include more than 27,000 families. This would indicate that the existence of collectives above this total is doubtful.

In an effort to bolster the collectivization movement, the Council of Ministers recently issued a resolution aimed at insuring kolkhozes "full possibilities of intensifying production and improving cultivation (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], March 27-28). The resolution guarantees kolkhozes credits, building materials and fuel, and priority in purchasing farm machinery. Kolkhozes whose meadows and pastures constitute less than twenty percent of their arable land will be permitted a ten percent decrease in obligatory grain deliveries.

The resolution states that "well-managed" kolkhozes will be allowed to own or rent small units of agricultural industry—i.e., mills, etc.—situated near or on collective land. On the other hand, the resolution abolishes special

State aid to kolkhozes whose income did not assure members minimum wages.

The resolution calls upon the Ministry of Agriculture to classify all collectivized land in 1957 for the purpose of "facilitating rational farming and creating conditions for just fulfillment of obligations to the State." Taxes in kind on private plots belonging to kolkhoz farmers will be abolished, and a new system of taxation will be instituted based on the entire collectivized land, including private plots. The National Council of Producer Cooperatives and provincial and county unions of the collectives will take over by May 31 functions of accounting and organization previously handled by the Ministry of Agriculture.



Recent Polish repatriates from the Soviet Union.

Photo from *Swiat* (Warsaw), February 24, 1957

Deliveries Delayed

The failure of farmers to fulfill their obligatory deliveries was noted by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 19. The paper stated that the situation is "steadily growing worse" and that the cash backlog is now almost one billion *zloty*. The largest backlogs are in the provinces of Lublin, Warsaw, Kielce and Bialystok. *Trybuna Ludu* blamed this situation on: the indifference of the national councils, the tendency to write off backlogs, the utter confusion in the agricultural administration and the black market.

Ochab Speaks on Agriculture

Minister of Agriculture Ochab provided further insight into agricultural difficulties in a report to the Sejm Subcommittee for Agriculture and the Foodstuffs Industry (*Trybuna Ludu*, March 27). Ochab complained that labor productivity in agriculture was only one-fifth that of industry and that the level of agricultural production had failed to satisfy the nation's need. Ochab declared that only 7,700 *zloty* had been contributed to the national income by each person employed in agriculture, as compared with 38,800 *zloty* per capita in industry.

Ochab referred to difficulties connected with the inferior quality of agricultural equipment and the poor supply of fertilizers. He spoke specifically about the lack of tools and horse-drawn machinery for the individual peasant, a fact subsequently confirmed by an official of the Ministry of Heavy Industry who reported on April 12 (Radio Warsaw), that engineering factories had been forced to switch from the production of large quantities of tractors for "Socialized" agriculture, to production of machines and implements for individual farms: "These machines . . . accounted for 30 percent of the 1956 plan, while they represent 60 percent of the plan this year."

Aside from poor supplies, Ochab mentioned difficulties caused by decollectivization. He said that problems had arisen concerning the cultivation of hundreds of thousands of hectares remaining after kolkhozes had been dissolved; he also spoke about the complicated problem of property rights, particularly in the Western Territories, where peasants had not been given deeds to the land. In addition, Ochab called for the distribution of land from the State Land Fund on a permanent basis, and the decentralization of the State Farm system. Wages on State farms, he said, would be raised beginning July 1.

Ochab said that the basic task in agriculture was increasing livestock production and productivity. As for the "Socialization" of agriculture, Ochab remarked: "We will patiently strengthen existing collectives and create an atmosphere and conditions in which new collectives will be created, based on permanent foundations and the true will of the peasants."

Sejm Debates 1957 Plan and Budget

On April 24 the Sejm met in plenary session to debate the draft budget and economic plan for 1957. The bills had been presented to the Sejm for a first reading on March 9 (see May issue, pp. 36-38) and then referred to

the Plan, Budget and Finance Committee for examination. Deputy Oscar Lange, Chairman of the Committee, reported that it had considered more than 150 amendments to the bills. It had amended the draft budget so as to increase total revenues and expenditures as follows (in billions of *zloty*):

	Original	Amended
Revenue	140.3	140.9
Expenditure	138.8	139.3
Surplus	1.5	1.6

According to Lange (*Trybuna Ludu*, April 25), "The main increases will go to the national economy, justice and State prosecution, professional schools, education, and health and physical culture. Science and higher education will have a major share in the increased investment." However, the Committee's amendments did not imply any change in the economic policies laid down since October:

"We are continuing to plan a slightly more rapid increase in the production of industrial consumer articles than in the production of means of production. An increase of 3.4 percent in over-all agricultural production is planned—much less than in industrial production. It must be added that investment, which is to increase by 5.9 percent, will be changed in structure to improve the supplies of consumer goods for the population. Investment in industry will drop by 3.2 percent, with a 7.6 percent increase, however, in those industries producing consumer goods. On the other hand, investment in agriculture, including investment made by the rural population itself, State investment, and credit assistance for individual farms, will increase by 18 percent."

The Sejm then began a five-day discussion of the two bills, during which 79 deputies spoke. On April 28 the bills were passed unanimously, except for abstentions by two deputies.

Press Comments

The Polish press gave extensive coverage to the Sejm debate. The six weeks of committee hearings and discussion on the two bills was represented as a sign of Poland's progress in democratization since October. *Zycie Warszawy* said on April 25 that the debate showed "what progress has been made by the Sejm in exercising control over the government. . . . An illustration of this is the fact that whereas former budget bills numbered only a few pages of print, the present bill has over 170 pages. This means that many more details have been opened to public view than was the case before." *Glos Pracy* (April 29) criticized some of the deputies for proposing impossible increases in State expenditure, particularly in agriculture, and suggested that they did so "only to please their constituents."

The Plan, Budget and Finance Committee proposed, in its report, two significant changes in procedure. It recommended that future annual plans and budgets be submitted to the Sejm in the Fall and adopted before January 1 (a departure from the usual practice in Communist countries). It also announced that it would hold a session in the second half of 1957 to hear a progress report from the Minister of Finance.

Budapest:

Then And Now



Two pictures of a central square in Budapest, that on the left taken January 12, that on the right "recently." They show the partial reconstruction and resumption of life in the city.

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 30, 1957

Foreign Trade

The government anticipates that Poland's foreign trade in 1957 will be 10 percent greater than last year. Minister of Foreign Trade Trampczynski told a press conference on April 18 that exports will reach a value of 3,671 million rubles (5 percent less than last year) and imports will total 4,564 million rubles (25 percent more than last year), leaving an export deficit of 893 million rubles. Trade with other Communist countries will account for 60 percent of the total, as it did in 1956. There will be a radical change in the structure of exports: transport equipment and machinery and installations will constitute 23.3 percent of the total, compared with 13.9 percent last year; and coal and coke will decline to 31 percent as compared with 40.3 percent last year. He also disclosed that Poland's new trade agreements with Communist countries are being negotiated on the basis of world prices, a development which he described as "the introduction of new principles."

The Deficit

Trampczynski said that the large gap in the balance of trade had been caused by greater imports of industrial raw materials—466 million rubles above last year—and by increased imports of agricultural equipment and consumer goods. At the same time, exports of coal, coke, cement, timber, sugar and textiles have been reduced. He expected the deficit to be covered in part by foreign credits. Czechoslovakia has granted 110 million rubles for the purchase of machinery and installations. The USSR has granted credit for the purchase of 1.4 million tons of grain and a short term "technical" credit of 100 million rubles, sufficient to balance Polish-Soviet trade. Other credits had been obtained from Western countries, including Great Britain and France. He made no reference to the United States.

In addition, he said, services performed by Poland for

its partners—mainly transit—would bring another 400 million rubles. But he indicated that some of the deficit would remain, and that the government would try to eliminate it by "structural changes" in Poland's trade during the remainder of the year.

"On the one hand, efforts will be made to eliminate unessential imports of machinery and installations, and on the other hand, to increase as much as possible the exports of some of our products . . . for example . . . eggs and meat. Efforts are now being made not only to [remove the deficit] but also to achieve a foreign currency surplus."

Coal Exports

The reduction of Poland's coal exports, which began last year, has had serious effects on the economies of East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Exports of hard coal to East Germany dropped from 3.8 million tons in 1955 to 2.5 million in 1956, and exports of coke from 1,059 thousand tons in 1955 to 568 thousand tons in 1956 (*Trybuna Ludu*, March 26). Coal exports to Czechoslovakia in 1956 were 344,000 tons less than in 1955—amounting to 3,346,000 tons—and will be still less in 1957 (*Trybuna Ludu*, March 20). The government has informed its neighbors that if they want more coal they can obtain it by extending credits for the expansion of output in Polish coal mines. In mid-April, East Germany offered Poland a long-term loan of 400 million rubles for the development of brown coal mining (*Trybuna Ludu*, April 18). And on May 7 a Polish delegation in Prague signed an agreement according to which Czechoslovakia will invest in the hard coal and sulfur mining industries (see "Area").

Trade with Communist Countries

Practically all of Poland's trade agreements with other Communist countries had been completed by mid-April,

when the government released an unusually detailed description. Trade with the USSR will total more than 2.5 billion rubles, an increase of 23 percent over last year. Major imports will include 4 million tons of iron ore, 176,000 tons of manganese ore, various nonferrous metals, 70,000 tons of cotton, oil, 700,000 tons of oil products such as gasoline and kerosene, some factory installations (considerably less than last year) and several million rubles worth of consumer goods. Polish exports to the Soviet Union will emphasize transport equipment and machinery and installations (valued at 400 million rubles). For the first time Poland will sell complete industrial plants to the USSR. Exports will also include 3 million tons of coal and 200,000 tons of coke—less than last year—and zinc, rolled metal products, textiles and chemicals. Because of domestic scarcities, no cement or sugar will be exported this year.

Trade with East Germany, Poland's second largest partner, will remain at last year's level of about one billion rubles. The GDR will supply Poland with fertilizers, oil products, chemicals, machinery, optical and electrical articles, consumer goods, raw materials and semi-finished products. Poland will export coal and coke—in smaller quantities than last year—zinc and various heavy industrial products.

Poland will also increase its exports of machinery and industrial installations to Czechoslovakia, taking in return larger imports of rolled metal products.

Trade with China will amount to 310 million rubles. Exports, valued at 154.1 million rubles, will include machinery and metallurgical products. Poland will import Chinese iron ore, nonferrous metals, cotton, oil-bearing seeds and other items.

Romanian-Polish trade is scheduled at 150 million rubles, compared with 124 million in 1956. Poland will export rolled metal products, textiles, coke, chemicals and machinery. Romania will supply Poland with oil products, chemicals, ores, fruits, vegetables and wine.

Yugoslavia signed a trade agreement in November 1956 to the amount of 124 million rubles, an increase over last year. Poland's most important imports from Yugoslavia are zinc and pyrites, lead, semi-finished goods and copper articles. Exports include machinery and installations, electrotechnical equipment, rolled metal products, coal, coke and chemicals.

Agreements have also been signed with Bulgaria, Albania, North Vietnam and—for the first time—the Mongolian People's Republic. An agreement with Hungary was to be concluded about the middle of May. (From Radio Warsaw, April 10 and 17.)

Production Report

"Socialist" industry fulfilled the production plan for the first quarter of 1957 by 107.1 percent, according to a report in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 11. This figure represents 24.3 percent of the annual plan, and a 9.9 percent increase over production in the first quarter of 1956. The report announced successes in all industrial sectors, especially coal mining, where the plan was implemented by

101.86 percent and a high productivity rate of 1,147 kg. per workday was attained. With the exception of pig iron production, which reached only 98.2 percent of the planned target, reported results in the metallurgical industry showed a marked increase over 1956 plan indices. The report mentioned lags in the production of railway cars and automobiles, but stated that January and February arrears in production of farm machinery were offset by achievements in March.

The Building Materials Industry made available 19,000 rooms as compared with 5,020 in the same period last year, it was stated. The wage fund was 28.5 percent higher than that for the first quarter of 1956 and exceeded the plan by eight percent. Some 0.9 percent of the wages paid were not covered by overfulfillment of plan targets.

In agriculture, the plan was considerably overfulfilled with regard to State purchases of meat, milk and eggs; on the other hand, compulsory livestock deliveries were smaller than those in the corresponding period last year, and the amount spent on agricultural purchases, including advances for sugar beets, was 2.3 billion *zloty*, which represents a 49 percent increase over the amount spent in the first quarter of 1956.

Trybuna Ludu, April 13, reported that villages had not received planned supplies. The coal supply was 40,000 tons below the target, and the plan for supplying building materials was underfulfilled by 4,000 tons of cement, 9,000 tons of lime, 45,000 cubic meters of lumber and 3 million bricks.

Cardinal Wyszynski Visits Rome

On May 6, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, Primate of Poland, left for Rome in the company of Bishops Michal Klepacz, Zygmunt Choromanski and Antoni Baraniak. This was the Primate's first visit to the Vatican since 1951 and was indicative of the strength of his present position with the Polish regime. Cardinal Wyszynski was raised to his present rank shortly before his arrest in 1953, but did not attend the Pope's second consistory at that time for fear that, if he left Poland, the Communist authorities would not allow him to return.

The visit was proposed shortly after the Cardinal's release from police custody last Fall, but he postponed the journey until he had appraised the results of the January elections. On May 14, the Primate delivered a long report on the church's situation in Poland before being received in private audience by the Pope.

Demonstration Against Militia

The Warsaw daily *Sztandar Mlodych*, on May 6, reported that a clash had occurred between the militia and a crowd at Jaroslaw, a town in Southeast Poland. A "drunken soldier" was detained by the militia, it stated, and passers-by took the soldier's part. The crowd was joined by other soldiers and by what the paper termed "hooligan elements," who began stoning the police station. The militia appealed for the aid of army units. Order was restored; nineteen persons were arrested.

New Central Committee Groups

In a brief announcement on April 15, Radio Warsaw stated that the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee had set up a new commission on international relations to deal with problems of the "international workers' movement, contacts with fraternal Parties and propaganda abroad." The new commission, whose work will probably be concerned with the breach that developed between the Polish Party and those of the USSR and the other Satellites after the Eighth Plenum last October, is headed by Jerzy Morawski.

The CC also created two other new commissions: one, headed by Roman Zambrowski, will deal with problems of the national councils, and particularly their relation to workers' councils and (see above) "agricultural self-management"; the other commission will deal with publishing matters and appraise publishing plans.

The newly-established commission of National Minorities, headed by Jerzy Sztachelski, recently dispatched a letter to local Party committees on the subject of combating anti-Semitism. The commission also adopted resolutions on the subject of relations with the German and Ukrainian minorities in Poland.

Hungary

Kadar Postpones Election

At the opening session of parliament on May 9, Premier Kadar called for postponement of the general elections which, according to law, were scheduled to take place during the month. Kadar explained that, at the present time, national energies should be devoted exclusively to repairing the economic damage incurred during last October's Revolt. He added that, in any event, the "overwhelming majority" of voters would approve Party-sponsored candidates.

In his two-hour speech, Kadar also discussed the "untimeliness" of instituting a multi-party system in Hungary. In answer to charges that he had failed to keep promises made in November regarding a coalition government, Kadar stated that a multi-party system would only cause trouble between parties and breed ideological confusion, and would destroy national "unity."

Kadar also spoke about the need to establish friendly relations with Yugoslavia. He remarked, however, that the Hungarian government disagreed with the Yugoslav interpretation of the October uprising, and added pointedly that the Hungarian press did not criticize Yugoslav internal affairs.

Kadar's request that parliament postpone elections did not come as a surprise. Prior to the convocation of parliament for the first time since the October uprising, Radio Budapest, May 7, stated:

"As is known, the mandate of the... National Assembly [parliament] will soon expire. There can be no doubt that, in the event of... new parliamentary elections, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' [Communist] Party would win the majority of votes. However... new elections would not be

advisable at present, since as a result of the counterrevolutionary attack we have had to grapple with political... and [now] economic tasks... that call for the concentration of all forces... The Constitution contains clauses which make possible the extension of the National Assembly's mandate [i.e., in case of 'extraordinary circumstances'] and the session will decide... on this question. An extension is all the more necessary because the new election law discussed [before October] could not be prepared because of intervening events... Since the last session some 26-28 Deputies have resigned their mandates [20 were Rakosi men and 8 supported the Revolt] and one of the dissident Deputies [who fled the country] will be deprived of his mandate."

Kadar's rejection of a multi-party system for Hungary was also not unexpected. Some two weeks before his speech, *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), April 26, carried a long article by Party writer Jenő Szántó, who gave a definitive answer to people in Hungary and abroad who were "reminding" the government of its previous statements on the possibilities of coalition. Szántó conceded that, in its declaration of November 4, 1956, the Kadar government had said that the Communist Party was too weak to take sole responsibility for the nation's destiny:

"[However] we had to consider the fact and events proved us right, that the... potential partners did not wish to cooperate on the basis of the program in question. The government did not want a coalition for the sake of coalition but a coalition for Socialism... The coalition partners were hesitant. They sought or professed another program, and they intended to create their own separate parties on the basis of a different program.

"In those circumstances, the creation of other parties would have served but one purpose: a concentration of anti-Socialist forces, legal cover for their activities, and a sharpening of... discord... Our Party believes—and it will never change its opinion—that the process of governing can be shared with our friends, with allies willing to undertake the cause of Socialism. The parliament, the local councils, the People's Front, the workers' councils, mass organizations and other social organizations—all are places and forums for such cooperation."

Social Democrats Wooed

Despite the fact that the Party has rejected the possibility of any real multi-party system, it has recently sought the support of former Social Democrats willing to collaborate with the puppet regime. One of these collaborators, Árpád Szakasits, formerly Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, voiced his approval of the post-Revolt Hungarian Socialist Workers' [Communist] Party in *Nepszabadsag*, April 17. Addressing his former Social Democratic colleagues, Szakasits said:

"I know that many Social Democrats were thrust into the background and that many were imprisoned in the past years. But, comrades, if ever I was happy in my life, it is now... when I see that veteran, organized workers have joined the front ranks of the [Communist Party], the militia, and the workers' militia."

Another former Social Democrat, Odon Kishazi (Presi-

"The Symbol"



"At the very moment when, on October 30, the counterrevolutionaries left Moricz Zsigmond Square armed with pulleys and metal cutting tools, heading towards the freedom statue [monument commemorating wartime "liberation" of Hungary by Soviet Army] on Gellert Hill, Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl, our Kossuth Prize winning sculptor, left his studio with a bleeding heart. 'Inter arma silent musae,' sighed the artist. When weapons speak the muses are silent. However, this symbol of the liberation of our people, made of bronze, stone and concrete, proved to be stronger than the instruments of its attackers. They were unable to pull it down. All they could do was to harm some of the minor figures. A few days later, the weapons were torn from the hands of the counterrevolutionists and the misled by the Hungarian people with the help of the Soviet soldiers. In every part of the country—where the monuments suffered—diligent hands work on their reconstruction. Zsigmond Kisfaludi has started on the reconstruction of the freedom statue. And the statue which holds the olive branch high in the air announces indestructibly: the workers triumph over destruction."

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 30, 1957

dent of the SD Trade Union Movement in 1945-48 and arrested in 1950), was recently made Deputy Secretary-General of the Communist-controlled Central Council of Trade Unions, and on May 9, was appointed Minister of Labor (see below). Similarly, Social Democratic Trade Union leader Miklos Vas, imprisoned during 1950-55, was made Vice-Chairman of the Council (*Nepkarat* [Budapest], May 1). Both Kishazi and Vas were members of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party during the October uprising, and Kishazi also headed the Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions.

Lukacs Returns

The regime also publicized the support it has received from erstwhile opponents within the Party. According to *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), April 11, Professor Gyorgy Lukacs, who was Minister of Culture in the Nagy Government and who went to Romania with Nagy, had requested permission to return to Hungary: "He wishes to carry on his scientific work in his homeland. The government has granted this request."

New Cabinet "Approved"

While seeking adherents, the Hungarian leadership continued to consolidate and reorganize the government, and on May 9 Parliament approved Kadar's list of the new Cabinet. With the exception of the new Minister of Labor, Kishazi, the list was composed of known Party stalwarts in the pre- and post-October period (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], May 10:

Premier	Janos Kadar
First Deputy Premier	Ferenc Munnich
Deputy Premier	Antol Apro
Minister of State	Gyorgy Marosan
Foreign Affairs	Imre Horvath
Interior	Bela Biszku
Defense	Geza Revesz
Agriculture	Imre Dogei
Finance	Istvan Antos
Heavy Industry	Sandor Czottner
Light Industry	Mrs. Jozsef Nagy
Justice	Ferenc Nezval
Culture	Gyula Kallai
Health	Frigyes Dolleschall
Smelting and Machine Building	Janos Csergo
Foreign Trade	Jeno Incze
Domestic Trade	Janos Tausz
Food	Imre Kovacs
Building	Rezso Trautman
Post and Transport	Istvan Kossa
Labor	Odon Kishazi
Prosecutor General	Geza Szenasi
Planning Office	Arpad Kiss

Party Organization

During the past month, the leadership also continued efforts to consolidate the disrupted Party. Gyorgy Marosan

was appointed to the important post of First Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee (Radio Budapest, April 29) and in a speech on May Day, Premier Kadar called for Party unity and discipline and the broadening of Party ties with the masses. Kadar said that "all honest workers must find their way into the Party," but he insisted that the Party be protected from "unprincipled careerists": "Special vigilance is required against those who followed Imre Nagy's . . . line, who fought against the Party before, during and after October, and who would now like to get back into the Party so as to fight from within against its main line and unity." (Radio Budapest, May 1.) This admonition was in line with Kadar's speech at the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Rally in Moscow on March 27, in which he said that the new Party would be smaller than the pre-Revolt Party and limited to "true Communists" (see May issue, p. 38).

According to *Nepszabadsag*, May 5, the new Party now has 300,000 members. But this total is unsatisfactory, and recruiting difficulties have arisen:

"About 400,000 members of the former Hungarian Workers' Communist Party did not apply for registration. We have a rather angry and hostile attitude towards them. They are careerists and cowards. We know that the Hungarian Workers' Party admitted not only Communists but also sympathizers. In their case, our policy must be to gain their support, even if they are not within the framework of the Party, for the majority of them are honest followers of our regime. . . . It is high time that Party life was fully consolidated and the Leninist order of Party work restored."

Revai Denounces "Revisionism"

The need to return to "Leninism" was the subject of an article by Party theoretician Jozsef Revai in *Nepszabadsag*, April 21. Revai had published a previous article on this theme in March entitled "Ideological Purity" (see May issue, pp. 50-56). The first article was a harsh attack on "Nagy revisionism," and the fact that errors of "Rakosiism" were given comparatively mild treatment provoked strong criticism in the Hungarian press by writers who feared this presaged return to Rakosi's methods. In his April 21 article, Revai reiterated his view that "revisionism" was a greater threat than Rakosiism. Quoting from Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," Revai stated that the chief enemy within the Communist movement was "right-wing opportunism:"

"In advocating a return to Leninism many people within the Communist world movement have tended to make left-wing sectarianism appear to be the main and real, indeed the only enemy within the Communist movement. . . . This false view . . . has also gained ground in Hungary. . . . It is time, in opposition to all these views, that we returned to Lenin."

Writers' Union Dissolved

To crush further organized opposition by Communist intellectuals, the Kadar regime has disbanded the Writers' Union and arrested the well-known Communist writer

Tibor Dery "on the well-founded suspicion of having committed a crime against the State" (Radio Budapest, April 21). This action was taken after a three-month investigation of the Union by the Ministry of Interior which allegedly proved that "an active group within the Union had used the Union for attacking the social order of the Hungarian People's Republic." A Literary Council was established in place of the Union and will "assist competent government agencies in solving artistic problems."

The regime struck its first blow against the Union last January by "temporarily suspending" its activities on the ground that it had acted contrary to "the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic" (see March issue, pp. 33-34). At that time a special commissioner was placed in charge of the Union's affairs and five Communist writers and two newspapermen were arrested for "counterrevolutionary" activity. These reprisals were aimed at putting a stop to attacks on the Kadar puppet regime by Communist intellectuals who had sparked the October Revolt through the campaign for liberalization and who continued this campaign even after the uprising had been quelled by Soviet tanks.

KISZ Woos University Youth

The new Communist Youth League (KISZ) has turned its attention to university youth and is attempting to gain ascendancy over the non-Party student organization MEFESZ, which was formed shortly before the October Revolt at the height of the unofficial liberalization campaign. At an April 10 meeting of Communist university students, Ferenc Varnai, member of the KISZ organizational committee, announced that KISZ branches were being formed "one after another" in universities. This fact, he said, was evidence that the "hard core" of university youth wanted to fight under the Party's leadership. In discussing the problem of relations between KISZ and MEFESZ, Varnai stated: "Where both organizations are active, they must collaborate closely and young Communists in MEFESZ must be politically active."

Varnai implied that the KISZ aimed at supplanting or absorbing the MEFESZ. He said that the "complete unity of youth" was required to "construct Socialism"; that KISZ' most important task "was to come forward . . . at the head of the majority of university students"; and that a KISZ university council was being formed to win over the majority by arranging open discussions of university students' problems and by helping to solve them.

Varnai stressed Party leadership of KISZ, and objected to the fact that recently even "lower" (other) youth organizations talked of independence. "We openly declare," he said, "that we are not independent . . . that KISZ is a mass organization of the proletarian dictatorship, of the Party." In another part of his speech Varnai attacked the non-Party character of the MEFESZ during the October uprising. At that time, he said, "brazen counterrevolutionary elements [took over that] once democratically elected organization" and misled the mass of university students.

Varnai stated that the formation of KISZ (in March)



Two drawings commemorating the anniversary of the unsuccessful Peasants' Revolt in 1907. Left, the caption is: "You are bloodstained, Mr. General." "You too, Mr. Prefect." Right, the "reactionaries" say to the vulture symbolizing the monarchy, "We agree with you, sire, but leave something for us." *Urzica* (Bucharest), March 31, 1957

had marked a "turning point" in university life, but that the attitude of university students was still unsatisfactory. "Most of [them] are still passive and disillusioned, although many have given up the long-cherished notion that the October events constituted a revolution. However, nihilism and cynicism are prevalent. We must ease this situation." (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], April 11.)

At a meeting of KISZ activists in Budapest, it was announced that the new organization now has 40,000 members (*Nepszabadsag*, April 25). The head of the KISZ organizational committee, Zoltan Komocsin, indicated that difficulties were besetting the recruitment drive. "We should oppose the view," he said, "that only trained Communists be admitted to KISZ." Komocsin also called for a fight against the view that young people should concern themselves solely with amusements.

Farkas Sentenced

On April 25, Radio Budapest announced that the Supreme Court of the Hungarian People's Republic had sentenced Mihaly Farkas to 16 years' imprisonment "for serious violations of the law during his term of office." Farkas was formerly Defense Minister under Rakosi. He had been dismissed from the Politburo in April, 1955 and was arrested October 13, 1956, following the growing public demand for punishment of those responsible for

violations of "Socialist legality." There have been reports that Farkas had personally managed the torture of Premier Janos Kadar while the latter was in prison.

The comparative leniency in dealing with Farkas contrasted pointedly with the death sentences still being imposed on relatively obscure "counterrevolutionaries" of the October Revolt.

An attempt was made in the magazine *Magyarország* (quoted over Radio Budapest, April 25) to link Farkas with Imre Nagy. The former was said to bear, along with pre-Revolt Party leader Erno Gero, "leading responsibility" for the "illegalities of the 1953-54 period while Nagy was Premier. Farkas was described as Nagy's "right-hand man."

"Counterrevolutionaries" Prosecuted

Arrests, prosecutions, and convictions of participants in the October Revolt continued. In some cases death sentences were handed out for offenses other than "murder." Radio Budapest reported on April 25 that Janos Kis of Csepel had been hanged after his plea for mercy was rejected by the Presidential Council. He had been sentenced on April 9, for "concealing firearms and ammunition."

Radio Budapest announced on May 7 the death sentences for three more alleged followers of Josef Dudas. (Dudas

was a figure in the October Revolt; he was executed by the regime, January 18.) The three men have made pleas for clemency. A fourth defendant received what was described as "a more lenient sentence."

The police arrested three members of "a gang of plunderers and armed counterrevolutionary diversionists . . . who were instrumental in derailing a workers' morning train on November 20," Radio Budapest reported, April 16. "On November 21, the same armed gang succeeded in preventing a relief railway engine from arriving on the spot. Later these terrorists attempted to blow up a viaduct, but had no explosives."

Radio Budapest, April 17, announced the arrest of three former members of a cable factory workers' council who took part in the October Revolt and who, it was stated, were members of a group which printed the "MUK" (We start again in March) leaflets.

On April 18 Radio Budapest continued regime efforts to picture the "counterrevolutionaries" as "Fascists." The broadcast stated: "Police took into custody several members of the Nagyteteny counterrevolutionary gang. . . . During the investigations it transpired that the activities of the gang were directed by a Horthyite lieutenant, who gave orders for looting and for the attack on the police station at Nagyteteny." A Budapest woman, who was said to be a collaborator during the war and to have been interned after the liberation, was charged with leading a demonstration in Parliament Square, October 25, and another on December 4.

Seven "accomplices" of Ilona Toth (a woman medical student, sentenced to death April 8) were imprisoned for terms ranging from one to eight years (Radio Budapest, April 8).

On April 13, all Budapest newspapers carried the announcement by the Ministry of the Interior that "as of

2400 hours, the curfew will end all over the country. The population and vehicles of all kinds will be free to circulate night and day."

Pressure on Bishops

Representatives of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops and the regime reached a "turning point" in their negotiations over the amount of Church freedom to be allowed in Hungary. *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest) announced on April 11 that the Bishops were now convinced that "peaceful cooperation is possible . . . view with confidence the government's efforts to correct past mistakes . . . support the government in its efforts to increase the well-being of the people and to consolidate peace in the world. At the same time the Bench condemns all efforts directed against the State and social order of the Hungarian People's Republic."

After the October Revolt the Bench of Bishops presented the regime a 16-point declaration calling for much greater freedom in Church-State dealings. The regime refused to accept the declaration and agreed to negotiate only after "order" was restored. On March 26 these negotiations began, following two preparatory decrees issued by the Kadar administration three days earlier (see May issue, p. 40). Apparently the bishops have now outwardly succumbed to pressure from the regime.

Hammar skjold Still Rejecting Invitation

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), April 14, reported that the Kadar regime's UN Representative Peter Mod had called on Secretary-General Hammar skjold and repeated the regime's invitation to visit Hungary. On April 30, Radio Budapest quoted another *Nepszabadsag* article which denounced the "special committee charged with investigating the Hungarian situation" [Hammar skjold was delaying his visit until this committee reported] as being "set up to collect hostile and malicious propaganda slogans . . . from dissidents, including [General] Bela Kiraly, [Social-Democrat] Anna Kethly, and their like. . . . Some Western papers pressed the UN Secretary-General to refuse the invitation, saying that the regime was already strong, life has started again . . . that Hammar skjold's visit would only enhance Kadar's prestige. The Secretary-General of this world organization, once again violating impartiality . . . obeyed those voices. . . . The Kadar regime . . . will become ever stronger, even without the support of the Secretary-General."

Economic Plan for 1957

The regime has announced that it is drafting an economic plan for 1957. On May 4 Radio Budapest carried a summary of an article in the bimonthly *Gazdasagi Figyelo* describing the plan. Industrial output in 1957 is expected to be two or three percent higher than in 1956, when it was interrupted by the Revolt, and six or seven percent lower than in 1955. Agricultural production is also to be slightly higher than in 1956, with more emphasis on fodder crops at the expense of bread grains. Imports of wheat will be necessary in 1957 and 1958. Consumption will rise substantially, it was stated, because of wage increases and the abolition of compulsory deliveries in agriculture.

During Dinner

Wine was served; and he said:

Wine is an instrument from the feudal epoch for.

Wine can be grapewine, imported wine, currant wine.

Tomatoes and onions were served, and he said:

Dialectical analysis of the development of vegetable growing shows the superiority of collective economy forms to. Coffee was served; and he said:

Increase in export in colonial countries and their simultaneous pauperization are proof of contradictions between.

Salt was spilled; and he said:

There will surely be disaster because.

A strait jacket was quickly brought in and he said:

This is a product of the second half of the twentieth century, cross-breeding the ordinary shirt with.

October 1956 by Jan Czarny

from *Tworczosc* (Warsaw), March 1957



"In January and February 229 new miners started work in the Fierlinger mine in the Kladno district, and 267 miners left work." In picture, new worker to pit-boss: "Change clothes? Chief, it doesn't pay."

Dikobraz (Prague), March 28, 1957

According to *Nepszabadsag*, May 1, the pace of industrial development is to be slower in coming years than it was in the past. It is now recognized that Hungary's lack of raw materials will not support an ambitious program for the future, and that the chief emphasis should be on the profitable exploitation of domestic resources. The paper observed that all of Hungary's nonferrous metals and coke and 75 percent of its iron ore supply have to be imported.

On April 10 Arpad Kiss, President of the National Planning Office, told the National Assembly's Budget and Planning Committee that total investment in 1957 will be 7.3 billion *forint*. More than a third of it will be used for housing and "other communal, cultural and social purposes." (Radio Budapest, April 10.)

According to *Esti Hirlap* (Budapest), April 27, industrial production in the first quarter of 1957 reached 80 percent of that in the first quarter of last year. Production in light industry was 86 percent of last year's first quarter, and production in the food industry was 90 percent. Coal production rose to 82 percent of last September's level. However, it emphasized that these results were made possible only by foreign assistance and government subsidy.

Czechoslovakia

Slovak Party Congress

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia was held in Bratislava, April 26-28. Its purpose, apparently, was to evaluate domestic developments since the previous Congress in 1955 and to take stock of the situation resulting from various events abroad, chiefly the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress, the Hungarian Revolt and the Polish events. Internal unity was stressed, and there were attacks on nationalism and revisionism. Antonin Novotny, the highest official of the overall Czechoslovak Party and Karol Bacilek, First Secretary of the Slovak Party, delivered the major speeches.

Bacilek's opening remarks (*Pravda* [Bratislava], April 27) revealed the uneasiness still felt by Party leaders over the Hungarian Revolt. He made a great point of congratulating the Slovak, Ukrainian, and Hungarian workers within Slovakia for not emulating their neighbors in Hungary. Praising the Slovak people for their "unity and political maturity," he warned that "bourgeois nationalism is a poison," that it survives especially in the remnants of Hlinka's People's Party (the ruling war-time Catholic political organization, banned after World War II by the Benes Government), which attempts to "infiltrate our literature and to gain further local positions in our State and economic apparatus."

Twentieth Congress "Misunderstood"

Novotny devoted a good part of his speech to warnings against nationalist and revisionist influences (*Pravda* [Bratislava], April 28). Advocating closer ties with the USSR, he went on to complain that the Twentieth CPSU Congress had not been properly understood. The Slovak Congress Resolution (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], April 30) further elaborated this point:

"Some individuals, members of the Party, have adopted an incorrect attitude toward the basic questions concerning international developments and Party policy. This has become particularly apparent in the wrong understanding of the class struggle on the international scale or within the State during the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism. Some comrades also did not comprehend the meaning of measures directed toward the further democratization of our life and the substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have contrasted democracy with the dictatorship of the proletariat by confusing Socialist democracy with bourgeois democracy."

Intellectuals Criticized

Intellectuals were considered especially truant in their loyalty to the regime. Slovak writer Alfons Bednar was censured in a discussion of cultural matters for depicting "only sores on our body—sores which are festering and not healing." Although the Slovak Writers' Union only a few months earlier had placed Bednar's novel, "Hours and Minutes," first on the list of works "most worthy of notice" written in 1956 (*Kulturny Zivot* [Bratislava], Jan-

uary 19), the author was now warned that "our people will not allow their achievements to be slandered."

Bacilek announced the expulsion from the Party of Ondrej Pavlik, a professor at Komensky University and former Deputy Minister of Education. He had published (*Kulturny Zivot* [Bratislava], October 20, 1956) his disagreement with the regime's reorganization of the educational system. Many people "abused" the right to criticize, Bacilek stated, explaining that Pavlik had been expelled because he "refused to present any kind of self-criticism and announced that he was sticking to his views." Later the Slovak Party First Secretary made the following statement: "The fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the majority over the minority is the source of its strength, the reason for its great democratic quality."

After thus condemning "nihilistic" tendencies on the parts of some writers and intellectuals, the Congress praised (without naming) others whose work showed "a desire to picture truly the life and struggle of the people," and the correct "association of the ideological and the artistic, which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has adopted."

Economic Progress Satisfactory

The Congress devoted a sizable part of its deliberations to the economic position of the country. Novotny recalled the measures which had been adopted at the Tenth Party Congress in June 1954 and claimed satisfaction with the resultant progress: the inefficiencies of overcentralization are being combatted, he stated; the processes of "rationalization" and "simplification of State apparatus" continue apace; retail prices have been reduced, and the work week for adults is now 46 hours, which "proves the great advantages of the Socialist as compared with the capitalist system."

The Congress resolved to increase production, to make better use of the country's engineers, and to apply economy measures whenever possible. The need for stabilization of manpower in the coal mines was emphasized.

There was great stress laid on agricultural output. The Congress called for more collectivization, but also advocated new irrigation and drainage projects, not only for "Socialized" agriculture but for private farms as well—thus revealing, in this instance, at least, greater concern for crop yield than for ideology. The pre-1955 stagnation in collectivization seems to have been overcome to some extent, however. Between the April 1955 Party Congress and April 24, 1957, the regime claimed 333 new collectives in Slovakia; it was also said that previously existing collective farms had been joined by 7,126 farmers.

The Congress ended, as it had begun, with calls for "vigilance." The resolution stated:

"The Congress sees the greatest danger in the ideological field, apart from revisionism, in bourgeois-nationalism, in the influence of nationalist ideology on the working people. The imperialists are constantly trying to revive various nationalistic relics. . . . All this makes increased claims on ideological work, particularly on propaganda and agita-

tion. . . . The Congress instructs all Party authorities and organizations to pay the utmost attention to ideological work."

1957 Budget

Minister of Finance Julius Duris presented the 1957 State budget to the National Assembly on April 17. Total revenue is set at 98.2 billion *koruny*—9.5 percent higher than in 1956—and expenditure at 97.9 billion *koruny*—10.7 percent higher than last year. Duris said that these increases would be made possible by an increase of 7.8 percent in industrial production during the present year, accompanied by a 5.3 percent increase in labor productivity and a 2.8 percent lowering of production costs. But he noted that last year's budget had run into difficulties precisely because the key factors of labor productivity and cost-reduction had played a smaller part than planned. In consequence, the profits of State enterprises had been 12 percent below the amount budgeted for. The outline of the budget for 1957 is as follows, compared with last year's planned budget (in billions of *koruny*):

	1957	1956 (Actual)	1956 (Planned)
Revenue	98.2	89.8	90.3
"Socialist" sector	85.1		77.3
Profits	17.8	12.7	14.4
Turnover tax	44.4		45.8
Direct taxes	10.7		10.7
Other	2.4		2.3
Expenditure	97.9	88.5	89.9
National economy	53.2		48.1
Investment in heavy industry	18.1		16.2
Cultural, health, social	31.9		28.8
Defense and security	9.3		9.6
Administration	3.5		3.4

New Wage System

In an effort to prevent workers from taking wage increases while scanting productivity, the government decided on April 24 to experiment with new methods of payment (*Prace* [Prague], April 26). This decision came in the wake of recent complaints that wages have been rising so fast as to threaten the regime's economic program:

"The disparity between productivity increases and wage increases amounted to a sum of 1.8 billion *koruny* last year, and the situation isn't improving any this year" (*Prace*, April 5). "In the Ostrava transportation enterprise, errors and disparities in planning caused an overdraft of the wage fund by 350,000 *koruny*, i.e., 12.7 percent, in January" (*Prace*, April 9). "In the Surface Construction enterprise in Liberec cabinet makers fulfilled the productivity plan by only 50 percent, but got 125 percent of their prescribed wages; in the case of carpenters the percentages were 73 and 138" (*Prace*, April 12).

The government decision observed that when wages increase too rapidly in relation to productivity they devour funds which might otherwise be used to lower prices or to

"On the Subject of Unions"



The desks are labeled (left to right): Arbitration Commission, Manager, Plant Administration, Trade Union. Caption: "Peaceful coexistence." *Sturshel (Sofia), May 12, 1957*

increase State investment. It placed much of the blame on the managers of industry, charging that "many enterprises attempt to conceal [shortcomings in the organization of production] and to solve them improperly by various adjustments of wages, by softening of norms, etc. Uneven work and 'storm' methods lead to the growth of overtime and higher production costs."

The decision concluded that the present wage system, with its large number of individual norms and bonuses for piece-workers, makes it difficult to "bring order into norm-setting." In order to simplify the problem the government proposes to introduce group norms in place of individual norms wherever possible, and even to eliminate piecework in some instances in favor of time wages. Moreover, the system of bonuses for engineering, technical and administrative employees will also be revised to put more emphasis on quality, cost reduction, innovations, etc. The new system will be tried out first in selected enterprises.

Drive Against "Espionage"

The drive against "espionage agents" (see May issue, page 43) continued with charges (Radio Prague, April 9) against Helena Jecminkova, former director of a foreign languages institute in Liberec, and announcement of the arrest of Ruzena Havelkova and her husband Josef Havelka, both allegedly caught handling "espionage reports." Mrs. Havelkova, it was charged, had been recruited by Helena Jecminkova and trained in the use of "secret writing." She is supposed to have sent letters with "secret espionage information" to a cover address of "the American espionage center in West Germany."

It was further alleged that a number of incriminating reports and documents were found on the persons and in the home of the couple. Helena Jecminkova, whose arrest, if effected, was not announced, was charged with having begun her "collaboration" in 1953 with the "American espionage center," which then sent her to Czechoslovakia in 1954.

NATO was mentioned as a participant in anti-Czechoslovak espionage activities for the first time in a Radio Prague broadcast, April 24. Dr. Josef Maier was arrested and charged with being a NATO agent, in the employ of an unnamed diplomat, whose personal physician Maier had been. The diplomat is described as being "Western" and "one of the directors of the espionage center" of NATO which has headquarters in Paris, Stuttgart, and other Western countries and is "financed by the United States."

Dr. Maier allegedly provided the diplomat with samples of products and production plans of a Czechoslovak plant which makes new medicines. The doctor is also accused of stealing an identity card from one of the patients in the hospital for the diplomat, and of "misusing the confidence" of certain friends who mentioned secret information in his presence, "thinking he was an honest person."

On April 26 Radio Prague announced the arrests of Jan Cakrt, a lawyer at the State bank, Jaromir Zid, former owner of a concert agency, and several "accomplices . . . engaged in espionage . . . for the American millionaires, the Vogel brothers." They were accused of having "helped . . . the brothers in fraudulent business transactions which seriously threatened the foreign currency economy of Czechoslovakia." The charge was made that Cakrt had

"helped the head clerks" of Arnstein and Pick (Prague firm formerly owned by the Vogel brothers) to leave the country illegally. All of the accused "enabled the illegal transfer of money abroad for some former capitalists," and all accepted "financial remuneration" from the Vogels. "As the investigation revealed, individual workers of some Western diplomatic missions in Prague also took part in shady currency machinations . . . which Cakrt transacted." Cakrt, Zid, and the unnamed "accomplices" awaited trial.

Letter Writer Imprisoned

Jaroslav Krepinsky received a sentence of two and one-half years before the Prague People's Court because of letters he had written to America which were reprinted in Czech language newspapers, the Chicago *Svornost* and the *Amerikan*. In one of the letters which was read over Radio Prague, May 6, Krepinsky stated that: "In view of high prices here, we never have enough for clothes, linen, and other necessities. This critical shortage has induced me to approach you with a request for assistance. . . . I rejoice that in your country people are praying for peace, while in our country we are afraid of attending church services. . . ."

The regime radio denied the allegation of poverty in Czechoslovakia and claimed that it was helping to rebuild churches of all denominations. It accused Krepinsky of "greed." Recalling his three-year jail sentence for theft in January 1945—that is, under Nazi occupation—the radio commentator rejected Krepinsky's contention that he was then engaged in sabotage and stressed the common element of lawlessness in both cases.

The broadcast ended with an avowal that the regime had no fault to find with ordinary exchanges of gifts from abroad. "Gifts are a bridge on which human hearts can meet. Our words are directed against those who slander their Fatherland. . . ."

Romania

Delegation to East Germany

A government and Party delegation, led by Premier Chivu Stoica and First Secretary Gheorghiu-Dej, visited East Germany April 24 to 28. A joint government declaration signed on April 28 denounced the NATO pact and "West German imperialism," stating that any attack on East Germany would meet with "the determined resistance of the entire Socialist camp and of peace-loving peoples." The governments agreed to conclude a three-year trade agreement for 1958-1960, to broaden cooperation in economic, technical and scientific matters—particularly in the chemical industries—and to make arrangements for agricultural cooperation. They also agreed to conclude a consular treaty, a treaty on legal cooperation in civil, family and criminal matters, and agreements in the fields of social policy and public health.

A joint Party declaration of the same date stressed the importance of the "unity of the Socialist camp." It called

for the "normalization of relations between the German Democratic Republic, where power rests in the hands of the workers and peasants, and the Yugoslav Federal People's Republic, which maintains diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic." It indicated that such normalization would depend on mutual acceptance of "proletarian internationalism," the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." (Radio East Berlin, April 29)

At a reception given in honor of the Romanian delegation, the principals on each side made speeches violently attacking the West. Romanian Premier Chivu Stoica promised that "any attempt . . . to solve the German problem by force will meet with a determined rebuff from all Socialist countries in accordance with our internationalist principle: all for one, one for all." (Radio East Berlin, April 27)

Soviet Troop Agreement

Soviet and Romanian representatives signed an agreement in Bucharest on April 15 regulating the stationing of Soviet troops in Romania. Similar agreements were made by the USSR with Poland on December 17 (see February issue, p. 10) and with East Germany on March 12. Following the pattern of these pacts, the Romanian agreement states that the "temporary stationing of Soviet forces on the territory of the Romanian People's Republic in no way affects the sovereignty of the Romanian state." However, it does not contain the assurance granted to Poland that additional Soviet troops would in the future enter the country only by mutual agreement. Only the total strength of Soviet troops in Romania is subject to mutual discussion, and there is no formal limitation on troop movements through Romania to some adjoining country—e.g., Hungary, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. A preamble to the agreement declares that it has been made necessary by "the existence of aggressive military blocs aimed against the peace-loving States and the remilitarization of West Germany, as well as the maintenance by the United States and other member States of the North Atlantic Pact of large forces and military bases near the Socialist States."

The agreement was signed by Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Minister of Defense Georgi Zhukov, and their Romanian counterparts Grigore Preoteasa and Leontin Salajan. In a speech made afterward, the Soviet Foreign Minister attacked the policies of the NATO powers. "The plot in Hungary proved how necessary it is for the Socialist States and the peace-loving peoples of all countries to maintain their vigilance against the machinations of the aggressive forces which, as proved by the events in the Near East and in Hungary, are employing any method of plotting to direct aggression."

Drive for Press Conformity

There have recently been many indications that ferment among Communist intellectuals, though repeatedly condemned, is still very much a reality. Positive examples of "revisionism" appear in print in thinly-veiled articles on literary and artistic topics. But, because of the regime's vigilance, such direct demonstrations of "revisionist" spirit



"Beginning on the fifteenth of the month, you will see to it that your products all conform to this model."

Urzica (Bucharest), March 20, 1957

are fairly rare; the main refuge of the dissidents is silence—that is, the refusal to take up the themes of the official propaganda machine. It is therefore to this passive resistance that the regime has lately addressed itself by taking to task newspapers and publications which have failed to show the required vigor in saying what they were supposed to say.

The most serious criticism of this kind was voiced by the Party daily *Scinteia* on March 31 in an attack on the Writers' Union periodical, *Viata Romineasca*. The Communist publication charged that the periodical wrongly considered itself "a literary organ, an outlet for writers," and not, as it should, "an organ of struggle." In future *Viata Romineasca* will have to "place itself in the midst of the ideological struggle . . . [and] must take up a stand against foreign influences, formalism, and schematism." In similar vein the Party paper lashed out on April 14 at *Steaua*, the organ of the Cluj branch of the Writers' Union, for "mudslinging . . . and constant criticism." The accusation specified that the writers' journal had replaced "serious analysis" with satire.

There were other recent crackdowns on press organs for lack of conformity or lack of enthusiasm. On March 22, for instance, *Lupta de Clasa*, the theoretical and cultural journal of the Party, castigated *Cercetari Filozofice* (probably published under the auspices of the Romanian Acad-

emy) for failing to publish "studies which would profoundly analyze the most topical problems . . . to oppose the reformist and revisionist tendencies which have appeared in foreign [Yugoslav, Polish?] publications." *Lupta de Clasa* sternly warned that "readers expect to find studies in the periodical concerning the creative application of Marxist-Leninist teachings. . . ."

This regime-directed press warfare also included a rebuke addressed on April 20 by *Scinteia Tineretului*, organ of the Communist Union of Working Youth, to *Tinarul Scrutor*, a young writers' periodical. It was charged that this paper "does not take a stand against those who openly, or in subtle or confused articles, try to negate or minimize the tremendous importance of Socialist realism and Party spirit."

Bulgaria

Fourth Congress of Trade Unions

After almost a year's postponement, the Fourth Congress of Trade Unions met in Sofia, April 16-19. The long delay had been forced by shifts in Party policies resulting from last year's Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, compounded by the uncertain situation following events in Poland and Hungary.

Three days before the Congress met, the Party Central Committee issued a decision listing a number of "serious shortcomings and weaknesses" in the work of the trade unions. These were amplified at the Congress by Todor Prakhov, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, who ranged critically over the various fields of trade union activity (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], April 17). There was too much "formalism" in the organization of "Socialist competitions," with the result that many of the pledges made were too low to provide a stimulus to production. Quantity was emphasized to the neglect of quality. The unions were not energetic enough in combating "one-man management" of the factories, in seeing that workers' suggestions were studied and applied, in organizing production meetings so as to achieve good results, in drafting collective agreements, and in seeing that norms and bonus systems were properly applied.

In the field of labor protection—safety measures, working conditions, hours of work—the unions had failed to call management to heel, with the result that some factories permitted "brutal violation of the labor code." And, in propaganda, "Despite our considerable successes in the improvement of mass political and cultural education work, we must openly admit that in this most important field of trade union activity we are lagging." Finally, there was a serious lack of contact between the unions and the masses of the workers:

"The collective method of work has often been violated by trade union administrations. . . . Workers and employees have not been consulted on basic problems connected with their production interests, for example, in problems dealing with urgent amendments in the norms and payment of labor. . . . Very often the general meet-

ings . . . have been called in order to report on the fulfillment of the monthly plan and to approve the new plan. The activities of the trade union organs, the fulfillment of workers' and employees' proposals and workers' cultural needs have seldom been discussed."

In its final "decision" (*Trud* [Sofia], April 25) the Congress accepted the Party's criticisms as the basis for future trade union activity. It endorsed a Party proposal to change the organizational structure of the trade unions with the aim of simplifying it, and charged the Central Council with preparing concrete proposals to this end by July 1. It also amended the Statute of the trade unions, adding clauses which emphasize the duty of the unions to protect workers' rights and "to expand and strengthen their ties with workers and employees." (*Trud*, April 20)



"American aid of four billion dollars for underdeveloped countries. . . ."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), April 7, 1957

The number of "workers" in Bulgaria is now said to be 1.1 million, of whom 92.6 percent belong to trade unions. According to Chairman Prakhov, 218,000 workers (one-fifth of the total) spent their vacations in workers' resorts during 1956.

Four-Country Agricultural Conference

A conference on specialization in agriculture was held in Sofia, April 22-27, attended by high officials from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. The Soviet delegation included Minister of Agriculture Matskevich, Minister of the Food Products Industry Zotov, and Deputy Ministers of Agriculture, Trade and Foreign Trade. The chief subject was a proposal that Bulgaria increase its exports of grapes and other fruits and vegetables to the three cooperating countries. The USSR would guarantee Bulgaria supplies of wheat and cotton in exchange. The proposed agreement would run until 1970 (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, April 30).

The project originated at an agricultural conference in Moscow in August 1956 (*Trud*, March 15, 1957) and was further discussed during the Bulgarian-Soviet talks in Moscow last February.

Albania

Soviet-Albanian Declaration

A series of recent Soviet economic concessions to the Satellites was rounded off on April 17, when a top-level Albanian delegation in Moscow signed a joint declaration with the Soviet government. The declaration released Albania from its obligation to repay Soviet credits totalling 422 million rubles. The USSR also agreed to assist Albania in working out a 10-15 year plan for economic development, to render technical assistance during 1957-1958 in agriculture, fishing and geological exploration, and to deliver, early in 1958, 31 million rubles worth of wheat, rice and vegetable oil on credit.

According to Albanian Premier Mehmet Shehu (Radio Tirana, April 26), the rescinded obligations included all the Soviet credits granted Albania from the end of World War II up to the end of 1955. These accounted for 348 million of the 422 million ruble total. The remaining 74 million cover recent and future deliveries of equipment for hydroelectric stations and the petroleum industry, of tractors and of other agricultural equipment.

The 10-15 year plan for economic development will lay emphasis on agriculture, with a view to making Albania self-sufficient in grain production—hitherto it has relied on imports—and expanding the production of livestock, cotton, sugar beets, grapes and citrus fruits, tobacco and various industrial crops. It will also expand the processing of agricultural raw materials, the exploitation of mineral resources and the fishing industry.

The deliveries of wheat, rice and vegetable oil promised by the USSR for 1958 are intended to provide reserve stocks in excess of current demand. Albania is now the only Satellite where food is rationed, and the agreement

states that these deliveries will be used to bring rationing to an end.

The two countries also agreed to conclude a treaty on trade and sea-navigation, an agreement on citizenship, an agreement on mutual legal aid in criminal and civil court cases and a convention on consular questions.

Joint Party Statement

The Party leaders of the two countries held talks on April 16. A joint statement signed on April 17 expressed satisfaction with Soviet-Albanian relations and called, in the usual language, for "the further strengthening of the unity of the Socialist camp." The Albanians expressed complete accord with the Soviet position on Hungary. The statement also decried "current . . . attempts to revise the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the leading role of the Party, proletarian internationalism, and other concrete principles of Marxism-Leninism." With reference to Yugoslavia, the statement said, using a tone much milder than recently current in Albania:

"The delegations . . . expressed regret that lately, after the events in Hungary, the relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist and Workers' Parties have begun to develop in a different direction, which does not correspond with the interests of [the Parties] and all peace-loving peoples. The delegations expressed the desire . . . to achieve an improvement in the relations and contacts with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and cooperation with it on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the principles of proletarian internationalism. . . . The delegations hope that the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will also take appropriate measures for the carrying out of such cooperation."

The Baltic States

1956 Plan Fulfillment

Soviet policy now allows the publication of detailed economic reports by the various constituent Republics of the USSR. Summaries of the 1956 plan fulfillment reports for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are given below.

Estonia

A lengthy report on the Estonian results in 1956 was published in *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn) on February 24. Production of selected industrial items was as follows, with percentage increases or decreases from 1955 in parentheses: electricity, 1,020 million kwh (8); oil shale, 7.5 million tons (7); gas, 405.3 million cubic meters (4); cement, 107 thousand tons (-4); lime, 112 thousand tons (7); bricks, 211 million (7); plate glass, 506 thousand square meters (-45); cellulose, 82.7 thousand tons (6); paper, 72.3 thousand tons (41); plywood, 14.2 thousand square meters (1); leather shoes, 2.6 million pairs (19); rubber footwear, 863 thousand pairs (-21); cotton cloth, 70.5 million meters (-4); woolen cloth, 2.8 million

Refugee's Report

Secret Laws in Romania

In the Romanian People's Republic there are two kinds of laws: public laws and secret laws, a recent escapee reports. The secret laws include certain decisions of the Council of Ministers, some agreements with foreign countries and some political and commercial agreements with the Soviet Union. Those which affect public administration are kept in "Special Offices" at the respective government Ministries. The "Special Office" has a safe and a steel file in which the documents are kept. Only high officials are permitted to consult them, and the rulings contained in them are made known to the various departments and enterprises by means of "confidential interpretative circulars." The full text of the documents is never revealed in the circulars, and often not even their real meaning.

Because of this system there is great confusion and delay in the work of the bureaucracy. For fear of transgressing some secret law, officials avoid making decisions. Papers requiring decisions are often sent from one office to another until they finally arrive at the desk of some Deputy Minister. Months and even years may go by until a decision is reached on some complicated matter.

In 1948, when industries were being nationalized, a certain citizen lost his small irrigation motor to the government. In February 1955 he made application to the Ministry of Agriculture for the return of his little motor, showing that it had been confiscated by mistake. In September 1956 his request finally arrived at the desk of the Minister, who, after consulting various officials and subordinates, approved it. The Minister's decision then went to the legal office of the Ministry, where the head lawyer consulted the various public decrees and signed an order for the return of the motor. But at this point one official a little more prudent than the others remembered that in 1955 a series of secret rulings had gone into effect dealing with the restitution of erroneously nationalized property. On being reminded of this the head lawyer obtained the necessary authorization from his superiors and consulted the archives in the "Special Office." It was found that in 1955 the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly had made the following secret decree: any nationalized property that had not been returned before January 1, 1955, was to remain State property. Consequently the Minister's decision was countermanded and after one year and eight months the citizen was told that his motor could not be returned.

meters (11); linen cloth, 5.5 million meters (8); rayon, 2.7 million meters (2).

The report said that crops of potatoes were 32 percent above 1955, vegetables 20 percent and flax 50 percent. While the total number of cattle was 466,000—a decrease of 3,000—the number of milk cows rose to 282,000 (2). There were 481,000 hogs (18) and 325,000 sheep (6).

Latvia

The plan fulfillment report published by *Cina* (Riga) on February 19 did not make comparisons with the preceding year. The production of chief items in 1956 was as follows: electricity, 1 billion kwh; paper, 63,000 tons; cellulose, 33,000 tons; cotton fabrics, 47 million meters; woolen fabrics, 7 million meters; silk fabrics, 9.3 million meters; leather footwear, 6.6 million pairs. The report said that the number of cattle had increased by 18,000 head over 1955. However, comparison with figures for independent Latvia in 1939 shows that the number of cattle has declined from 1,272,000 to 862,000 since the Soviet occupation. Likewise, the number of sheep declined from

1,469,000 in 1939 to 780,000 in 1956, and the number of hogs from 889,000 in 1939 to 771,000 in 1956.

Lithuania

The report for Lithuania, broadcast by Radio Vilnius on February 19, gave, among others, the following figures (percentage changes from 1955 in parentheses): electricity, 656 million kwh (14); lime, 143 thousand tons (28); bricks, 266 million (—7); plywood, 27,100 cubic meters (12); paper, 42,300 tons (19); linen textiles, 4.4 million meters (16); cotton textiles, 12.8 million meters (0.6); woolen textiles, 4.8 million meters (8); silk textiles, 80 million meters (8); leather footwear, 5.5 million pairs (11); rubber footwear, 1,458,000 pairs (19); felt footwear, 461,000 pairs (0.5); fish, 73,000 tons (38). The report said that crop yields had increased over the preceding year, but complained that “productivity of agricultural crops on collective farms is still comparatively low. Many collective farms, MTS and State farms sustained great losses in grain and other crops during the harvest.” Livestock numbers were as follows: cows, 603,000 (20); hogs, 1,227,000 (5); sheep, 798,000 (8).

The Crow and the Fox

A fable current in Warsaw:

A crow is sitting on a branch, eating bread. A hungry fox chances along and says, “Oh, crow, they say that you sing so beautifully. Sing for me.” The crow, by no means stupid, hides his bread under his wing and crows. The determined fox says, “Beautifully sung, crow. But your song would be even lovelier if you sang in flight with wings outspread.” The crow nods, clutches his bread in one claw, and flies calmly off. The fox, furious, yells after him “Crow, crow, look over there under that bush, your wife is kissing the personnel manager.” The enraged crow drops his bread and rushes at the bush.

Moral: If you find your wife kissing the personnel manager, make believe you see nothing, otherwise you will lose your bread.

Texts and Documents

TITO TALKS TO SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The following are major excerpts from that part of the Yugoslav leader's speech of April 18 referring to relations with the Soviet bloc. The address, delivered at the Fifth Plenum of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslav Workers, refutes current Soviet claims and interpretations, particularly in regard to the causes of the Hungarian Revolt. From Borba (Belgrade), April 20.

RECENTLY we have again had—and this is known well enough to the whole world—a clash, developing between our country and the Eastern countries of the Socialist camp, as they believe themselves to be. It has been many times explained, both in the press and in speeches, as well as in toasts with the Soviet comrades, what our attitude is toward this camp. . . . What is essential in this present clash is precisely the fact that we have persisted in our attitude that we do not want to join any camp. . . . [For], were we to do so, we would lose the role which Yugoslavia plays in the world and which enables us to take an independent attitude in expressing our thoughts on all issues, both of an internal and a foreign political character. This role of ours is what most irritates the Soviet comrades.

I do not want to dramatize this dispute. We hoped indeed that it would not go beyond the ideological field, for in the beginning the Soviet comrades themselves said there could be different ideological views without the necessity of conflict between States. Normal relations should develop between our countries, as was envisaged in the Belgrade Declaration and, later, in the declaration adopted in Moscow. Unfortunately, events have developed contrary to our wishes, and the ideological disagreements have led to international disputes. Since this is the second time we have been brought into this unpleasant situation, it is often asked here whether we can trust our neighbors at all. I think it would be a mistake to lose all confidence in them. The subjective element should, I think, be taken into consideration, the attitudes of certain leaders who cannot rid themselves of the old conception of relationships between Socialist countries. Regardless of the fact that they have corrected some Stalinist tendencies, they have not changed the

ones which form the basis of Soviet policy toward other countries in general, and toward Yugoslavia in particular.

However, when I say that it is unnecessary to dramatize our dispute, I mean that I regard the entire matter as a question of time; it will not be too long before the Soviet comrades realize that Yugoslavia, constituted as she is, has no reason to change her policies and attitudes. On the basis of experience, we have reached the profound conviction that we are on the right path and that any deviation from this path, any change of policy, would be harmful not only to our internal development of Socialism, but to the development of Socialist thought throughout the world. Nor would it contribute to a relaxation of the tension which exists in the world today.

I believe that one day they will understand that Yugoslavia, standing firmly by her policies, performs a useful role in the difficult contemporary international relationships, that our country does not threaten the Soviet comrades but, on the contrary, aids the Soviet Union and all those who wish for peace and good relations in the world.

One of the consequences of the present clash, and the unhealthy discussion of it, was touched upon today. Comrade Kolj Siroki explained what is really happening in Kosovo, and, on the other hand, what is being said and written about Kosovo in Albania. This, comrades, is much more a cause for concern than our ideological divergencies.

It is difficult to believe that the Albanian leaders are acting independently, on their own initiative. In my opinion their attacks are in line with a more or less hurriedly concocted plan, calculated to weaken our country and its prestige, to allege that Yugoslavia has not solved its nationalities problem, that Yugoslavia persecutes its minorities, etc., etc.

This attempt to discredit us goes from the ideological-theoretical to the political-economic fields, and, in general, to our entire internal system. Who can guarantee that tomorrow this same attempt will not be made in Vojvodina, where we have strong minorities, Hungarians and others, in order to weaken our internal unity and discredit our system and calumniate our method of solving minority problems?

Of course we must not yield to these attacks. We must respond, but in a dignified manner, without entering quarrelsome polemics, yet setting down facts. We must also, to a certain degree, tell what is behind all this. We must describe it as damaging. In my opinion, if we have anything to be angry about—and we do—we must primarily be angry with their inappropriate attitude, with their attempts to poison the relations between our national minorities and the rest of our people.

We shall have to make our complaints, perhaps, in some more official way. Although it is already known that this campaign does not in the least contribute to good relations between our countries, certain additional steps will have to be taken. . . . Fortunately there also exists in the Soviet Union a desire, expressed in the Kremlin recently by Comrade Khrushchev, for good relations between our countries.

We are now reproached for reacting very sharply to the incorrect charges against Yugoslavia. However, you know that we write very little, very seldom, and, moreover, very moderately, relying on discussion. We do not enter into polemics. . . .

They now wish to shift the blame for certain important matters onto our shoulders. For example, they persistently maintain that Yugoslavia bears a large part of the blame for the events in Hungary. There is not a bit of truth in this charge. On the contrary, it was we who warned against the negative consequences of the policies carried out by the Rakosi clique, and they themselves have admitted that those policies gave rise to a very bad state of affairs. When the tragic events occurred in Hungary, bringing consequences which adversely affected the prestige of the Soviet Union throughout the world, they wished to shake off the responsibility, to put it on us.

Of course, we can never permit this . . . for we are not to blame. . . . We have not contributed to a single adverse development in any country. . . . We had to state our attitudes, both in the case of

Poland and in the case of Hungary . . . where the events were very painfully reflected in the feelings of our people. . . . We had to tell our people what they had to know in order to calm them. Of course, things had to be said which were quite unpleasant, but they were facts. Had the situation been less critical, we would not, perhaps, have spoken so sharply and openly. Perhaps matters might have remained within our League of Communists, or perhaps only our leaders would have been acquainted with them. . . . Our plain-speaking was not to the liking of the Soviet comrades, and they reacted sharply, writing a series of articles which went both to countries where Communists are in power and to countries where they are not, but where Communist Parties exist.

Were we obliged, under the pressure of certain moral condemnation by these Parties, to go down on our knees and say that we were wrong? No, comrades, we could not have done this. Today we are responsible not only to our own people, but to the progressive public of the entire world. We are responsible both as a State and as a Party, and therefore our foreign policy is clear. It is based on co-operation with all countries who desire this cooperation on an equal footing, without interference by one side or the other in the internal affairs of either country. There is also involved the question of active coexistence, which we wish to see in the world and which is very important in the present, difficult situation. Therefore, we could not yield, nor shall we yield in the future.

Attempts are now being made in most of the Socialist camp countries to evolve the whole discussion into some allegedly comradely criticism. . . . First nice things

are said about the situation in our country, that we have built up our industry, that we have successes in this and that, but then a whole series of negative items are enumerated, things they have found in our press and which we ourselves criticize. . . . Finally there is an assertion that the whole of our system is no good at all, that neither worker self-management nor our communal system, which is still in the making, nor anything else, for that matter, is any good. . . . It is clear that this . . . is only a different method of carrying on the struggle against Yugoslavia from that adopted in 1948 and in later years. In my opinion, this is a rather uncomradely method.

If we kept silent to all that they say, if we did not answer from time to time . . . some of this untruthful writing might remain in the minds of the people in those countries. However, we should not allow ourselves to do anything that might transcend the bounds of discussion or lead to a further aggravation of relations. . . . We shall hold discussions without slandering, cheating, or telling falsehoods. . . .

It is well known to you, comrades, that [renewed] confidence in the Soviet Union was a long time in coming to the Yugoslavs. When Comrades Khrushchev, Bulganin and Mikoyan were in Belgrade, we told them that it would be a good while before the trust in the Soviet Union which existed before 1948 and which our Party had built in the people since before the war, could be re-established. We appealed to them to be patient then, and again later, when I was in Moscow with a delegation. . . . We told them we would do our best not only to bring relations back to normal, but to make them as friendly as possible with the Soviet Union

and with the other East European countries.

Unfortunately, no patience was shown. They reacted impatiently and improperly. There was recent evidence of this. On the one hand, Khrushchev spoke very moderately in the Kremlin and, in my opinion, very sensibly stressed the need for improving relations with Yugoslavia; in fact, a spark of hope was aroused in us that the turning point had come, that they had already seen the error of their previous policies. On the other hand, Suslov appeared on the scene and attacked us for revisionism and National Communism.

Comrades, would it be sensible to defend ourselves by saying that we are not enemies of Communism? Are we not Communists ourselves? There is no such thing as National Communism. Suslov took his terminology from Western journalists who coined the phrase to describe Yugoslavia's fight for independence. . . . Suslov knows the term is incorrect, but uses it purposely to discredit our country.

Whom are you to believe now, comrades? Today, one of them speaks one way; tomorrow another takes a 180 degree turn and says something entirely different. I think this is very unpleasant, and we shall tell them so—not perhaps through the press or in polemics, but we shall have to say that this state of affairs cannot continue. . . .

I would not say, comrades, that I am a great optimist, but nevertheless I look at all this calmly. . . . There will come a day—and perhaps it is not so far away—when this incorrect, insincere, and uncomradely dispute which is being waged against us will begin gradually to subside. . . .

Recent and Related

The Winter War, by Vaino Tanner (*Stanford Univ.*: \$5.00). As Finland's Foreign Minister during the war months, Vaino Tanner is particularly qualified to write on the diplomatic processes that attended this "little war." The book opens with an account of the negotiations that preceded the unprovoked attack. In sum, the USSR was demanding Finnish territory which was allegedly needed for Soviet defense. After the Finnish government had made some concessions and after three frustrating trips by a Finnish delegation to Moscow, diplomatic relations were broken off. Still, the Finns did not believe that the USSR would have recourse to war. On November 30, 1939, without any warning, Russian forces attacked. Even while the Finns were successfully holding the Russians at bay, Mr. Tanner was trying to negotiate a peace. Although Finland finally was forced to bow to superior Soviet strength, the author points out that acceptance of the severe, dictated peace did preserve his country's independence and prevent the war from spreading. Appendix and index.

Pan-Africanism or Communism? by George Padmore (*Roy*: \$5.00). This book records the rise and growth of contemporary African nationalist movements; the book's key thesis is that the coming struggle in Africa will be between the forces of Pan-Africanism versus Communism. The author first studies the early settlements of Sierra Leone and Liberia in order to disprove charges that Communism fomented African nationalism. Then, in explaining the various colonial systems in Africa, Mr. Padmore states that the British policy based on national self-determination for Africans by process of gradual constitutional reform could provide an effective bulwark against Communism. For the present, the author holds, Communism does not present a serious threat in Africa, for the Negroes are well aware that the Kremlin's interest is motivated by political not altruistic considerations. The solution for Negro nationalist longings, Mr. Padmore believes, lies in Pan-Africanism, a movement which urges perfect equality for all races and for control of Africa by and for Africans. Realistically, the author warns that the Negroes in their depressed economic condition will be tolerant to any regime which satisfies their basic needs.

The Stalin Era, by Anna Louise Strong (*Mainstream*: \$3.50). In this biased history of the Stalin era, Miss Strong, an avowed Communist, writes: "Lesser men can look back on it [the Stalin era] and list its crimes. But those who lived through the struggle . . . endured the evil as part of the cost of what was built." In describing the fruits of Communist rule, the author mentions the "boundless initiative" with which the people responded to the demands of industrialization, the elevated status of women, the decrease in illiteracy, and the spontaneous participation of the masses in elections. The author does not attempt to minimize the excesses of the great purges in the Thirties, but she does rationalize them by stating: 1) not only Stalin but the entire regime was responsible; 2) similar disturbed conditions existed throughout Europe; 3) the Nazi fifth column had infiltrated the GPU (Security Police) and many unjust arrests resulted. In assessing the lasting achievements of the Stalin era, Miss Strong states that out of a backward peasant country was built the first "Socialist" State, that the USSR supplied the strength which stopped the Nazis, provided a model for other "Socialist" States, and laid the foundations for world government.

Current Soviet Policies II, Leo Guliow, ed. (*Praeger*: \$6.00). Key speeches and documents covering the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress and its aftermath are here compiled under the direction of Leo Guliow, editor of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. In contrast to the subsequent denunciation of the Soviet dictator, this collection opens with a number of eulogies by such notables as Malenkov, Molotov and Beria issued for Stalin's seventieth birthday celebration. In commenting on the anti-Stalin campaign, Mr. Guliow states that the present regime's policies actually differ from Stalin's only in method, manner and degree, but not in substance. This book makes a valuable contribution by pointing out the other policies set forth at the Twentieth Congress, which were temporarily overshadowed by the Khrushchev revelations on Stalin. In documenting the aftermath of the Congress, such representative pronouncements as the statement on the dissolution of the Cominform and the Soviet-Yugoslav accord are included.

The Economic Factors in the Growth of Russia, by Nicolas Fr.-Chirovsky (*Philosophical Library*: \$3.75). From a historical perspective, the author here surveys the economic influences which have and do motivate Russian imperialism. In a brief review of the twelfth through nineteenth centuries, those factors which contributed to the expansionist Russian national psychology are stressed. During the thirteenth century, for example, the Mongol invasion and subsequent exploitation of foreign countries paralleled by a disregard for the development of native resources provided a model for similar policies under the later Muscovite rulers. The author explores the commercial and financial interests which, combined with the nationalistic and religious ambitions, led to a continuation of expansionism under the Czarist regime. The Communist Revolution, Professor Fr.-Chirovsky asserts, did not constitute a break in the continuity of Russian imperialistic growth. Rather, the doctrine of international Communism has provided a convenient guise behind which well-established patterns of Russian imperialism continue. Notes, appendices, bibliography.

Moscow-Peking Axis, (*Harper*: \$3.50). The Moscow-Peking axis, stretching over two continents and embracing about one-third of the world's population, presents a formidable force on the international scene. A study of the significant aspects of this alliance has been prepared by four distinguished scholars under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. Howard Boorman, director of a Columbia University research project on Chinese politics, discusses the political relations of the two countries as well as the problems posed by the borderlands between China and the USSR which, the author suggests, might become a potential area of friction. The economic aspects of the alliance—industrialization and collectivization, trade patterns and the strains Soviet aid to China places on the Soviet economy—are examined by Dr. Alexander Eckstein of the Russian Research Center at Harvard. Benjamin Schwartz, also of Harvard, reviews the role that ideology plays in strengthening the Sino-Soviet entente, while the final chapter on the effect of the Moscow-Peking axis on world politics was contributed by Philip Mosely, Director of Studies for the Council on Foreign Relations.



EAST EUROPE
Free Europe Committee, Inc.
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
Return Postage Guaranteed

Sec. 34.66, P.L. & R.

**U. S. POSTAGE
PAID**

New York, N. Y.
Permit No. 12923

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
313 NO FIRST ST
ANN ARBOR MICH
ATTN STEVENS RICE
5168

7-57

Form 3547 Requested
Forwarding postage guaranteed



Printed in U.S.A.